

SOUTHERN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, MDCCCLIII.

VOL. VIII.

NEW SERIES.

No. XVI.

WHOLE NUMBER, XLVIII.

ART. I.—SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON'S DISCUSSIONS.

Discussions on Philosophy, Literature, Education, and University Reform, chiefly from the Edinburgh Review: corrected, vindicated, enlarged, in Notes and Appendices.

By Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart., London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans. Edinburgh: Maclachlan, & Stewart. 1852. 8vo.

THE habit, which is rapidly becoming general, of reprinting as miscellanies of their respective authors, the most important essays which have adorned the great periodicals of the world, besides gratifying a liberal curiosity, has been the means of preserving for future use and estimation, treasures which might have been wholly neglected and forgotten, when buried beneath the load and rubbish and transient speculation, which accompanied their original dissemination. We do not mean, at this time, to express any opinion, favorable or otherwise, relative to the effects of periodical literature, or to the influences exercised by hasty and occasional publication on the general current of thought and composition. But, as the usage has been generally established and is definitely sanctioned by public acceptance, we are glad to see a more permanent form given to the more valuable portion of these passing effusions. As long as it was necessary to purchase and peruse the expensive and extensive series of the Edinburgh or the London Quarterly, in order to possess and become familiar with the modern master-pieces of English cri-

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ticism and speculation ;—and as long as were compelled, even then, without special initiation, to remain ignorant or doubtful of the authorship of the articles most admirable for their grace, ingenuity, or depth ;—it would have been unreasonable to anticipate, except in rare instances, that the ablest of them should continue to possess any general interest, or should exercise any durable influence on literature and scholarship. The practice of republication, fast growing into fashion, and capable of being easily pushed to excess, makes a valuable addition to the literary capital of Christendom, affords a great convenience to the anxious student, and revives, with a fresher interest and under more favourable auspices, the pleasure and the profit which might have previously attended the cursory perusal of any striking articles. Instead of turning vaguely to them as the grateful companions of an idle hour, we may now make them the intimate associates of more sedate studies, and we may consort with the ablest productions of recent times, with an assured confidence in their excellence, and without undergoing the tedium of winnowing the sound grain from the endless amount of chaff with which it had originally been mingled.

It is not easy to estimate, by any summary calculation, the value of the accessions which have been made to our libraries by these collected editions of scattered miscellanies. The favour and popularity which have rendered the name of Macaulay a household word through the length and the breadth of the land, afford only a trivial indication of the numbers who would not willingly renounce the new intellectual pleasures so cheaply brought within their reach. Sydney Smith has his own partisans ; and notwithstanding the bitterness of his sarcasms, and the pointed abuse which he has lavished on “the drab-coloured men of Pennsylvania,” there is none who has a genuine appreciation for wit, who does not frequently recur to his pages with infinite delight. Mackintosh addresses himself to a more sedate and studious class of readers, and is highly prized by them. Scott, Wilson and Southey have their own circles of enthusiastic admirers ; and Jeffrey has the approbation of all, if he excites no warmer feeling. But there are few who have made

an intimate acquaintance with the touching graces and quiet elegance of Stephen, or have dwelt on the cogent brilliancy of Rogers, who would consent to their withdrawal from the gallery of their literary treasures. The recent enterprize of a Boston house has introduced to our book-shelves the erratic but glittering productions of DeQuincey's genius. To us, the last is not the least welcome of these acceptable collections ; and to nearly all it is a source of much gratification that their favourite essayists are presented to them in convenient form for fireside reading.

But at the same time that the security of prolonged enjoyment is thus guaranteed to the reader, and increase and permanence of reputation are offered to the authors themselves, the changed aspect under which these compositions re-appear before the public requires a more cautious estimate of their intrinsic worth than was needful for the passing criticism, and demands that the opinions and judgments of the stern literary censors, who fulminated their anathemas or lavished their encomiums, with irresponsible authority, from their anonymous seclusion, should themselves be reviewed before we acknowledge their enlarged claims, and allow the collected productions to take their places in our libraries as recognized friends and instructors. This is a duty which has been too little regarded hitherto ; we have consented, in all cases, to receive, without any examination, the various volumes of miscellanies at the full value which accidental circumstances might have assigned to their best constituents at the time of their original appearance. The merits of many essays and critiques, which obtained undue celebrity in their day, in consequence of temporary causes, will scarcely suffice, when tested under this appellate jurisdiction, to protect them for many years from merited consignment to the grocer, the tallow-chandler and the fishmonger ; while others will only date their active influence from the period when their authorship was avowed, and careful study was substituted for loose and hasty reading. To this latter class, we think that the *Discussions* of Sir William Hamilton may be appropriately assigned. It is true, that some of these essays have been already translated into

foreign tongues, French, Italian, and German ;—it is true they have been edited and annotated with diligent care by learned men in foreign nations. It is equally true that his penetrating and judicious strictures upon education and the Collegiate systems and practices in vogue in Great Britain, may have conspired with other causes in directing public attention to their defects, and may have proved influential in determining the appointment, and modifying the conclusions of the recent University Commissions in England ; but it is only now that his acute reflections on topics of the highest and most general interest, though of the least popular character, will begin to receive from the literary republic of the Anglican tongue, that sedate, continued, and impartial appreciation which may result in the change of prevalent habits of thought, not merely in the momentary disturbance of the settled placidity of assured but unexamined conviction.

The nature of the subjects which Sir William Hamilton undertook to discuss was such as to deny his views any suitable consideration, when only presented to the dyspeptic voracity of trimestrial readers ; and the manner of their exposition was scarcely inviting enough to delight or to detain the impatient haste of superficial students. These discussions require sober examination in the closet to reveal their treasures of valuable, novel, and often recondite thought ; and their peculiar style must be accepted with some degree of charitable indulgence, in order that we may attain to a satisfactory apprehension of their solid nature. The literary execution of the work is not entitled to large or indiscriminating praise, although it unquestionably manifests, at times, striking beauties and startling felicities of expression. The grotesqueness of utterance, which appears on the title-page, constantly recurs in the tenor of these essays, and demands our forbearance, if it fails to excite our risibility. The style is deformed by frequent scotticisms, by the employment of words of dubious propriety and occasionally by locutions which scarcely accord with the most rigid requisitions of English grammar. It is singularly inelegant at times, and not unfrequently obscure ; and the undue affectation of logical precision of lan-

guage, and an exhaustive method of procedure, gives to it a dryness, a formality, and a ruggedness, which are wholly at variance with graceful composition. Sir Willam Hamilton, whose special learning embraces nearly the whole literature of Philosophy proper, has not been benefitted by the example, nor been obedient to the precepts of Cicero. He does not appear to have been instructed by the fastidious taste and polished perspicuity of the philosophical meditations of the Roman Academician, by whom an awkward or vague expression is habitually regarded as evidence of the fallacy of a position, and as a valid reason for its rejection. Des Cartes unquestionably pushed too far his celebrated principle, that clearness of enunciation was itself a criterion of truth; and, if Sir William Hamilton has supplied us with abundant instances to the contrary, he has certainly manifested its great importance as an accompaniment and auxiliary. Sir William fills the chair of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh; but he falls as far behind his illustrious predecessors, Dugald Stewart and Thomas Browne, in the art of composition, as he surpasses the former in profundity, and the latter in learning, consistency, depth, and nearly all other respects. The criticism of Professor DeMorgan* may be unjust and inapplicable, with respect to the case which it is designed to censure; but there is more than one phrase in these miscellanies of which it is only too true, that "it is very forced, both in order and phraseology; one who sees it for the first time finds it hard to make sense or English of it." We have no disposition to commend the still more ragged and broken style of Professor DeMorgan himself, or to endorse his random criticisms in any particular, but he has certainly indicated, in the wrong instance, a glaring and characteristic defect of Sir William Hamilton's writings. Occasional sentiments are, however, expressed with much force, and some sentences are elaborated with epigrammatic terseness and polish. These shine like precious gems scattered amid the huge rough boulders of unshapen granite, which cumber the ground where they

*Quoted by Sir William Hamilton. *Discussions*, Appendix ii., (B.) p. 623.

lie. We must confess, although reluctantly, that the general tenor of his style is singularly awkward, inharmonious, and pedantic; but he merits the qualified praise which was bestowed by Sicinius on the Roman poet, Attilius:

Ferreum scriptorem; verum, opinor, scriptorem tamen
Ut legendus sit.†

The unseemly blemishes of expression, which we have pointed out, are nobly compensated by the vigorous reasoning, the massive breadth of thought, and the penetrating sagacity, with which every topic is treated which is handled in this volume. On this point we can venture to be lavish of eulogy without fear of extravagance, and without suspicion of contradiction. The large comprehension of the philosopher, the minute and patient diligence of the earnest explorer of truth, the vigour of true genius, the sobriety of impartial criticism, the candour which befits solid knowledge, the various learning, which is amply sufficient, not merely for all obvious wants, but for all conceivable contingencies, and the nice discernment, which is scarcely ever at fault; these high qualities of a healthy, cultivated, and brilliant intellect are conspicuously displayed on every page of the discussions before us. The celebrity and distinction of the author, as evinced by the honours accumulated on him, might alone bespeak a favourable consideration for his views. He has modestly withheld this glittering catalogue from the title-page of the present work; but it may be gathered from that prefixed to his edition of Dr. Reid's writings. He is "Baronet, Advocate, Master of Arts, (Oxford) &c.; Member of the National Institute of France, of the Latin Society of Jena, and many other Literary bodies, Foreign and British; and Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh; to which we may add, as the highest indication of his abilities, Editor of the collected works of Thomas Reid. It has been the fortune of solemn blockheads to be able sometimes to parade a longer and equally imposing array of nominal distinctions, but Sir William Hamilton

† Cited by Cicero. De Fin. Bon. v. Mal. lib. 1. c. ii., § 5.

proves by these essays, as well as by all he has written, that his honours have been fully merited, and are nobly worn, and receive new dignity from his own continued labours in the most arduous and recondite departments of speculation. In the *North British Review* for November, 1848, was contained a very eulogistic, but in other respects unsatisfactory, notice of Sir William Hamilton's editorial services to Dr. Reid—(written, we suspect, by Mr. Morell)—and in the number of the same *Review* for February, 1853, there is a second article from the same pen, on the same subject, and of the same general complexion. To the abundant commendation therein bestowed, we most cordially assent, although our agreement with the views expounded in those articles scarcely extends any further. But, with that essayist, we recognize in Sir William Hamilton one of the very few writers of the current times whose studies are instigated by the pure love of truth; who is inflamed with an ardent zeal for the cause of abstract knowledge; who is seduced by no new-fangled theories, and misled by no deceptive lures of sudden reputation or popular favour; but who pursues the vanishing footsteps of sound philosophy through all the mazes of dazzling systems, and all the weeds of luxuriant error. It is this healthy temper of an affluent and well-poised mind which so strongly attracts our admiration in the present discussions.

The articles collected in this volume are judiciously distributed, according to their subject matter, under the three general heads of Philosophy, Literature, and Education. To each of these three divisions, respectively, is assigned its Appendix; and the orderly battalia are closed with a rear-guard containing the Addenda, Corrigenda, and Index. We are truly glad that Sir William has not been negligent of the convenience of his readers, but has, with scholar-like propriety, supplied a copious Index, though less required for the present work than for most others. We cannot forego this opportunity of declaring, in strong terms, our earnest conviction, that the annexation of an ample and skilfully prepared Index constitutes one of the cardinal and indispensable virtues of a good book; although from slovenly

habits, indecent haste, false notions of economy, and the absence of the true feelings of the genuine scholar, it is a virtue which has been most shamefully and habitually disregarded in recent times. Sir William enriched his edition of Reid with extensive indices; and we thank him for having a second time lent the high sanction of his own practice to a course which ought to be pursued in the publication of any elaborate work, and which may often serve as a test to distinguish the man of real learning and sincere purpose from the pretender and the charlatan. We do not say always: more is the pity. We have by our side, while we write, a work, or series of works, devoted to the development of the same subject, extending to twelve volumes, embracing the greatest variety of details, numbering altogether ten thousand pages or more, and filled with the most difficult and profound disquisition—but there is not the slightest trace of index to guide the inquirer, or to lead back the student of its contents, through the endless labyrinths of its continuous speculation, to any topic which he might desire to reconsider.

The philosophical division of these discussions is devoted strictly to philosophy, which Sir William Hamilton reclaims to its original and legitimate significance, and contains the most valuable, original, and profound portion of his labours. We find here the seminal principles of a new metaphysical theory—the philosophy of the conditioned—which, if fully and accurately developed, would germinate, we will venture to say, into glorious blossoming and salubrious fruitage;—a theory which, stretching far beyond the timid range of Scotch empiricism, would furnish a valid refutation to the arrogant and blighting pretensions of German transcendentalists, while subserving still higher functions; and which might, if expanded with the same consummate ability with which it is conceived, terminate, for a time, the internecine feud now raging between science and religion, and furnish a common ground for the ultimate accord of reason with faith. In this department of the work, too, we find the evidences of a much healthier and more enlarged appreciation of logical science than can be discovered elsewhere; and we are encouraged to undertake a renewed study of this long neglec-

ed branch of philosophy, by the demonstration of its vital importance, and by the prospect of its early rectification and augmentation, through the instrumentality of this author's profound investigations. Here, too, we may discover the best examples of cordial, just, and sagacious metaphysical criticism. But the subjects discussed in these philosophical essays, whatever may be their intrinsic merit, or their attractions for the private study of a few, cannot long engage our attention here. Sir William Hamilton considered it necessary to make an apology for the publication of his first article, on Victor Cousin's course of philosophy, in Great Britain, because he "was not unaware that a discussion of the leading doctrine of the book would prove unintelligible not only to the 'general reader,' but, with few exceptions, to our British metaphysicians at large." With such an example before our eyes, how could we hope to find an apology ample enough to palliate our offence, if we were to re-open such inquiries in the midst of a community which understands little and cares less about these abstract and tantalizing investigations? These philosophical topics we will, therefore, take the liberty of neglecting until a more suitable opportunity, or a more sympathizing circle of readers is offered :

Non ragionam di lor, ma guarda e passa.

If we could consider ourselves justified in drawing so wide an inference from the present essays alone, we might be inclined to doubt whether Sir William Hamilton's tastes ran very decidedly in the direction of general literature. We scarcely remember a single reference to any work of recent belles-lettres, or to any late production which has won popular favour. Moreover, in the distribution of these discussions, the head of literature contains only two articles. The second of these is, strangely enough, "on the Revolutions of Medicine." This, however interesting in itself, belongs of course rather to science, or the history of science, and accordingly requires the apology which is candidly given for its introduction under the literary branch of the classification. The preceding essay is an able and erudite inquiry

into the authorship of the "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*;" which concludes by assigning their composition to a remarkable triumvirate, consisting of Ulric Hutten, Cornelius Cro-tus, and Hermannus Buschius. This investigation affords a somewhat exaggerated illustration of the quaint manner, the sententious brevity, the elaborate and obscure precision, the minute accuracy, the curious and redundant learning, the various information, and the ponderous march of the illustrious author. To us, however, it is an exceedingly attractive paper; for, notwithstanding the painful and discouraging disadvantages of our position, so remote from all the rarer repositories of antiquarian research, we have always cherished a lively interest in the literary history of the agitated and anomalous age, preceding and accompanying the Great Reformation:—an age in which literary ardour had to triumph over innumerable obstacles, a literary career to be pursued amid thorns and briars, not roses, and in which literary controversies imperilled peace and fortune—liberty, and limb, and life. The legend of the Admirable Crichton exhibited only the chivalric impersonation of that militant scholarship; the story of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, of Franciscus Balduinus, and Francus Duarenus, and of many other scholars of that licentious generation, is as full of curious incident and romantic vicissitude as the autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini. We have little reason to believe that there are many persons who feel, like ourselves, sufficient interest in that period to explore with gratification the musty volumes and forgotten archives, whence the history of the early blossoming of modern literature and speculation is to be learnt. We are rejoiced to know that Sir William Hamilton is of that scanty number; for his companionship gives sanction, dignity and encouragement to our own solitary pursuits. But the reputation of the "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*" has itself become so restricted and obscure, in this century of light gossip and popular letters, that it would be a dangerous experiment to revive Sir William's meditations in this part of the world, or to dwell upon the results of his examination. For, if Mailtaire, the most learned of the bibliographers of England, could republish the work as a seri-

ous production, and Steele neither discover nor suspect the blunder;* if other English critics, historians and divines, have only manifested their utter ignorance of every thing connected with the subject, as the article assures us they have done, what welcome could be expected for any attempt to repeat the true story and illustrate the singular character of those times?

We proceed to the third head. This is devoted to Education and University Reform. The separate papers, though written for distinct local purposes, are, nevertheless, conceived in such a comprehensive and catholic spirit, and are replete with such valuable and permanent inspiration, that they possess a general interest, and merit thoughtful consideration in whatever part of the globe a sincere desire for the advancement of wholesome education is felt. With the exception of a single paper on Victor Cousin's Report on the Primary School System of Prussia, these essays are entirely appropriated to the examination of the conditions requisite for the most efficient communication of the higher or collegiate education. We regard them as so much the more valuable on this account. We would not neglect or under-rate the important duty which rests, as we conceive, on all enlightened governments, of providing for the adequate instruction of all classes of its youth in the rudimentary branches of knowledge—and, we would add, the fundamental principles of morality and religion. We are not, indeed, among the very enthusiastic admirers of the modern and much-lauded systems of Primary Schools, believing that there are more available and less dangerous modes of effecting the aims which should be designed. But we have always urged the communication of a sufficient education of all classes as the first public duty of the genuine statesman. It was fully appreciated and sedulously pursued by the principal states of antiquity; it was more lucidly and justly taught by Aristotle than by Montesquieu: it was not even disregarded by the Christian communities of the early and mediæval ages of the church; and, until very recent times, when men have run

* Discussions, pp. 218–20.

headlong into a rabid and misdirected enthusiasm on the subject, has been less attended to by the advancing governments of modern civilization than in any previous period. We are not disposed to detract in any respect from the urgency of the policy of the general education of the masses. But the higher department of education has been too much neglected and disparaged by the popularity hunting enthusiasts of late years, who have confined their attention almost exclusively to the lowest grades; and in that division of the subject, have converted a topic of earnest social interest and profound political concernment into a mere rhetorical thesis for windy displays. They have contemplated the great question under all its popular and common-place aspects; they have twisted it about in every direction, turned it inside out, bedecked it with all the meritricious trappings which a lively but limited imagination, and a verbose fluency of speech could suggest;—but they have achieved nothing worthy of all this mouthing, (tanto hiatu.) Nay, it would be fortunate if they could be dismissed with only this condemnation. But they have substituted talk so completely for action, and stereotyped platitudes for reflection, that they have rendered the topic tedious, not to say disgusting, to the earnest and anxious friends of primary education; they have made it pall upon the public palate, and have induced almost universal popular indifference as the result of their spasmodic efforts to enlist popular sentiment in favour of the cause. University education has luckily hitherto escaped the kind attentions and pernicious patronage of these indiscreet advocates. It did not lend itself so readily to selfish or ambitious views, nor present as favourable opportunities for the effusion of interested affections for the people. It was rather an unpopular thesis, and those who, with any crowd before them, could rush at a moment's warning into the most rapturous laudations of primary schools, were for the most part entirely silent in regard to Colleges. They did not perceive the intimate relation in which University education was linked to any efficient system of common schools; they have not yet seen that the latter must be lame, incomplete, and impotent without the concurrence of the former; they

have not recognized that, if either is to be renounced, it were better, for the general welfare, and even for the particular interest of the less cultivated classes, to dispense with the lower than with the higher grade, inasmuch as the knowledge conveyed by adequate collegiate instruction is almost certain to be diffused, throughout all the ramifications of society, by various channels of communication, direct or indirect ; whereas no art could enable the widest dissemination of primary education to result of itself in the encouragement or production of the higher learning. In consequence of these gross and grievous oversights, the subject of University education has very fortunately been sheltered from the degradation of being perverted into a mere commonplace ; and yet, enough interest is felt in it, we believe, to justify the examination of some important questions connected with it, under the equally safe and satisfactory guidance of Sir William Hamilton.

This inquiry may be contemplated from four different points of view. We may investigate, first, the objects and nature of collegiate education ; then consider the best methods of attaining those objects, or the branches of learning most expedient to be taught ; next, we might discuss the most efficient stimulants to proficiency which might be judiciously employed ; and, lastly, we might pass to the organization best calculated to give health, vigour, and vitality to the whole plan. A few hurried remarks on the first two of these topics will probably be all that we can find time to hazard on the present occasion ; for the discussion of the remaining two, we must refer our readers to the pages under consideration. They have all been very thoroughly and luminously treated by Sir William Hamilton, and, so far as we may be able to proceed, we profess to tread, for the most part, in his footsteps.

And, first, of the nature and objects of collegiate study.

As long as a man lives, he should learn. While his years roll on, he should advance steadily in moral and intellectual growth. Cato, studying the Greek language when eighty years of age, is only a type of the pertinacity with which every one should apply all the means of self-culture within

his reach, till the close of life overtakes him still sedulously engaged in such pursuits. There should be no resting-place, no remission in the race of improvement. The work of education should be ever zealous and unbroken. Commenced in the cradle, under the auspices of maternal instincts and affections, extended in childhood by the daily incidents and associations of early home, methodically and systematically continued in youth at school and college, it should flow on uninterruptedly in manhood, maturity, and even old age, by our own individual exertions, and self-forming habitudes of thought and action. There are thus three distinct periods of education, using the phrase in a comprehensive and liberal sense, each of which possesses its own peculiar characteristics. There is the passive, unconscious and instinctive stage in infancy, which serves as a preparation for the deliberate and regulated course of the academical and collegiate career, during which we learn from those competent to teach, being docile and obedient in mind and conduct to appropriate authority that we may learn, those things of whose truth and value we are as yet unable to judge for ourselves. Being thus carefully trained for future self-guidance, we enter upon the active duties of life, apply our former acquisitions to the satisfaction of the daily demands upon our capacities, extend them with our increasing opportunities and wants, purify them and enrich them with our enlarging faculties, and educe from observation, experience, reflection and study, the elements and means of constant self-improvement, moral, intellectual and material. In the first period we are led, or rather coaxed along by the nursing hand of affection; in the second, we are taught authoritatively by the learning and professional knowledge of a master; in the third, the reins of our conduct are given almost without restriction into our own hands, and the final task of self-education commences. The first stage is only the preliminary to the second; the second is the indispensable progymnastic to the most satisfactory and effectual performance of the duties of the third. If the latest function of human development be neglected, or the instruction of youth conducted without a steady reference to those ultimate duties for which it is

designed to provide a preparatory discipline, the aims of formal education are defeated, and its efficiency entirely nullified.

Of the three stages of progress, which we have specified, it is obvious that only the later years of the intermediate period fall legitimately within the scope of our present investigation; but even the judicious employment of these years may be estimated with the advantage of a purer and healthier light, by having ever present to our minds their important relations to the preceding and the succeeding stage. The formal education of school and college—which, in ordinary parlance, is alone considered as education, though constituting only a subordinate form of it—furnishes the era and mode of transition from the unconscious growth of infancy to the conscious self-development of manhood. It employs, amplifies, adds to, and systematizes the general agencies which were operative in the former period, in order to provide the necessary means for the adequate prosecution of the task appropriate to the latter. It requires much of the docility, the tractile spirit, the pliant disposition, the simplicity, the candour, the unquestioning humility, the vivacious curiosity, and the reverential regard so characteristic of infancy; and it aims to afford the energetic purpose, the modest self-confidence, the information, the instruction, and the principles, which may be rendered available by ourselves in the course of our subsequent career. During the years of college life the two terms are brought into close connection, and should be gradually combined with perfect harmony, so that the youth may mature into the man without sacrificing the generous freshness and innocence of his age, and the struggle with the realities of the world anticipated, without abandoning the lessons of superior wisdom, which serve as the most efficient preparation for its worthy accomplishment. Hence the feeling of responsibility, of accountability to God and to society, of constant subjection to the tribunal of the individual conscience, of the necessity for self-contained rectitude of action, must be substituted as the governing principles instead of the simpler discipline of unhesitating obedience which regulated the life of the school-boy. The mind

must be trained to exercise and rely on its own powers and resources, to reflect, examine and judge for itself, instead of merely receiving knowledge, as, up to this time, it ought in prudence to have done, mainly on the authority of its text book or teacher. It were easy to develop this view to an indefinite extent, but the suggestion appears to us to be sufficient for our present purpose, and may not require any further evolution to serve as a guiding thread in our future inquiries.

It results from what we have said, that collegiate education may be suitably considered as having furnished the bridge by which we pass from the careless Eden of early years to the life of struggle, anxiety and labour which lies beyond. It is a species of prolusion, or progymnastic exercise, by which we test and strengthen our powers before descending into the actual arena ; a sort of private rehearsal which precedes our debüt on the public theatre. It is a preparation for the war of life, and its object should be to render that preparation as effectual as possible. How can this be most satisfactorily accomplished ?

It is obvious that there are two distinct purposes to be contemplated, and to be proposed, with unequal degrees of solicitude. There are the general and the special purpose. The design of the former is to develop and educate all the faculties, mental and moral, but more directly the mental powers by which we are fitted for the discharge of the various general duties of life. The design of the latter is to supply the knowledge or information, general and professional, by means of which we are aided or expedited in the performance of the special duties of a definite vocation. The double character of this latter aim is important on two grounds : first, inasmuch as the pursuit of general knowledge may be united with the pursuit of general improvement, and be a most efficient instrument towards the attainment of that end ; and, secondly, inasmuch as general learning may be a necessary preliminary to adequate professional skill, while professional learning alone can never form a practical avenue to the desirable general culture. Those branches of scholastic study which minister to the larger

purpose are termed liberal—*disciplinæ liberales**—and, in accordance with mediæval, or even earlier usage, are commonly designated as the Humanities, or *Litteræ Humaniores*;† those which contemplate proficiency in particular callings, may be termed special, professional or technical.

This distribution of the aims of collegiate education agrees in spirit with the remarks of Sir Wm. Hamilton.‡

"A University in ordinary, and in ordinary acceptance, involves two very different things;—involving, first, what is properly the University; a school, to wit, for liberal or general knowledge; and, second, a collection of special schools, for one, two, three, or more of the learned professions. In the former respect, the student is considered as an end into himself; his perfection as a man simply being the aim of his education. This is the end proposed in, what is academically known as, the faculty of arts or of philosophy. In the latter respect, the learner is not viewed as himself an end, that end being now something out of himself; for, not his perfection as a man, but his dexterity as a professional man, in a word, his usefulness as an instrument, has become the aim of his scientific preparation. This end is that proposed in, what are academically known as, the faculties of theology, law, medicine," &c.

Sir Wm. Hamilton speaks of Universities: without confining ourselves too punctiliously to a single expression, we speak of Collegiate education generally, including Universities, under the generic name of colleges; and we do so for two reasons. In the first place, our American Universities have almost universally, and throughout their whole extent, a Collegiate and not a University organization, the Faculties being rarely distinct. The separate schools are seldom complete within themselves; there is never more than one, or at most, two Faculties which are independent of the Faculty of arts; and none of these institutions possess that essential

* The phrase "*disciplinæ liberales*," occurs as early as Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xiv. c. vi. sec. 19.

† We find the expression, "*humanitatis expertus*," for a man devoid of liberal culture, in Cic. ii., Philipp. iv. sec. 7.

‡ Discussions, &c., App. iii. (C.) p. 672.

characteristic of a genuine University—the universal incorporation of all classes of its members.* In the second place, the distinction between the two names was originally accidental and arbitrary; it rested on no real difference, but was gradually introduced by capricious usage, and confirmed by the “*usus et norma loquendi*.” University and College both primitively mean the same thing. Under the Roman Law the two terms, though by no means interchangeable, are sometimes employed indifferently for a guild, company, or corporation. Perhaps, if we were to push back our researches to the earliest times of the Roman Republic, we might discover that a College was more peculiarly a hieratic body, the vacancies of which were filled by co-optation, and a University, a lay incorporation, receiving all its privileges and incidents from the tenor of its charter. But, if this difference did originally exist, it vanished after the times of Sylla. In the Middle Ages arose the special distinction, for which Sir Wm. Hamilton rightly contends. The College, then, in accordance with the ordinary ecclesiastical Colleges, of which it was only an inferior type, was a cœnobitical establishment, maintained with a view to the convenience of the learners, the name being strictly applied to the community of living—the college commons—among the tutors and students, and designating a private and limited corporation; while the University imported the whole body of students scattered through the several Colleges, with the Lectors, Doctors, Professors, &c., thus forming the general and public corporation. The only distinction drawn in this country is founded upon an entire misconception of the meaning of a University, or rather upon the blunder of mistaking an accident for a specific difference. It is justly maintained in these discussions, that the idea that a University is a place, or corporate body, for the communication of instruction in all the faculties, the arts and the professions, is entirely erroneous. Yet, on this misconception, the habitual distinction is founded in ordinary apprehension with us. The American

* The historical significance of the word University, is most ably and learnedly examined. *Discussions, &c.*, pp. 476–484. It is to be regretted that the inquiry commences with the XII. Century, instead of going back to the Roman Empire.

schools of higher learning are in reality neither Universities nor Colleges, but partake of the nature of both, and constitute an intermediate species. They grant degrees and have professors; the English Colleges cannot do the one, and do not possess the other. Their members at large do not enter into the composition of the corporation; they do in the case of a European University, at least under its ancient and habitual form. For these reasons we employ the term College generically, and embrace under it Universities also.

In consequence, however, of this employment, we shall not at present consider the academical function of communicating strictly professional education, but limit our observations, tending in that direction, to that instruction which is given with a similar view; for the purpose of preparing the student for the discharge of the particular duties of a worldly career—of fitting him for “dexterity as an instrument.” This limitation will not impair the cogency or completeness of our speculations; the aims and principles which regulate the discipline, adopted for this purpose, being nearly the same with or without the limitation, but being more exclusively and more narrowly applicable in the case of mere professional education. The main effect of our rejection of the more special purpose will be to enable us to be more brief in the observations which we shall offer.

Two ends being then proposed by collegiate education—to educate, direct and heighten all the moral and mental powers of the man, and to furnish him with the particular knowledge needful for one particular purpose in life—which is the more important? and which is of the most extensive importance? Which soever it be, it should furnish the regulating principle of collegiate education. It is not, indeed, an alternative choice which is forced upon us; we are not compelled to make any exclusive selection between them—to take either, but reject the other; but we may and ought to pursue both; the one, however, in due subordination to the other. Which, then, should be treated as the subordinate?

There would scarcely seem to be any room for doubt or hesitation in replying to this question; and yet both the ordinary practice and the ordinary remarks on the subject

manifest either great uncertainty or a wrong choice. Assuredly, the general purposes of life are higher, nobler, and more important than any particular prospect of professional or special advancement could be, were it even possible to secure such advancement by the sacrifice of the ampler aim. To deny this proposition would be to fall into the grievous error signalized by the Roman poet :

Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.

Assuredly, that education by which the whole man is formed and perfected is more urgent, and a more elevated duty, than that by which skill in any one art or profession is to be acquired. And yet, how frequently do we hear people urging the necessity of rendering education more practical, as it is termed,—of making it the instrument for the communication of more useful information, and more available knowledge? How often do we hear classical studies and the loftier branches of learning decried, because they cannot be directly or manifestly turned to profit in after life, and withdraw attention from those departments of knowledge which may be rendered immediately lucrative? We employ, for the nonce, these *ad captandum* phrases in their popular significance, without re-opening the discussion as to the propriety of their application. Such language indicates a decided preference on the part of the objectors for the lower order of education;—an undue estimate of its lower purposes, an entire oblivion of its higher aims. And yet, we do not think we should err much if we should assert that such opinions have been generally prevalent in all ages. When the Spartans in ancient times separated children from their parents, fed them on black broth to make them abstemious, starved them to render them patient of hunger, stripped them nearly bare to habituate them to cold, whipped them to discipline them in the endurance of pain, taught them to maintain a lie that they might learn how to guard a secret, and indoctrinated them in the whole act of stealing that they might be cautious and cunning in the presence of an enemy, they contemplated the bestowal of a practical education which might prepare their young men for the one

special function of their maturity—a military career. This was a practical education in good earnest; no half-way measure, serving Mammon and fawning to God, but a thoroughly practical discipline; and what was the result? They dwarfed and betrayed the moral and intellectual nature of the man for the sake of perfecting the soldier—the mere engine of war. It is exactly on the same principle that, in our day, a practical education, as it is amusingly nicknamed, is generally preferred as a matter of theory to a liberal one. And yet, if we abandon the ordinary loose and cloudy habits of thought and speech, we shall soon discover that a liberal education is essential to a really practical one, and is requisite for the fullest efficiency of technical or professional pursuits. The development of the whole powers of the man must sharpen his aptitudes for any special purpose, when employed for the acquisition and application of the special knowledge required.

We may illustrate these points very concisely by a recurrence to the Socratic mode of procedure; and we may exhibit the advantage of connecting, instead of divorcing, the two aims. It is incumbent on all men, to whom the opportunity is afforded, to be Christians. It may be expedient for one particular man to become a doctor. There is nothing to prevent his being both Christian and doctor, and all the better physician for being a sincere Christian. Our popular advocates of practical education, in their anxiety to make a successful medical practitioner would denounce the folly of his wasting his time over becoming a Christian at all, and would declare it to be unsuitable to the genius of an enlightened age that he should spend his thoughts upon such unprofitable pursuits as Christianity. This is a fair illustration of the popular and practical habit of thought; those who think with us would recommend that he should become a Christian doctor, first Christian and then doctor, and Christian that he might prove both a better man in all other respects, and also a better doctor.

In those instances, not altogether uncommon in reality, however rare in popular approbation, in which collegiate education has been directed principally or exclusively to that

kind of instruction whose fruits are more concealed from popular appreciation, it has frequently happened that a blind perpetuation of old usages, derived perhaps from accident, perhaps from judicious design at the time of their institution, has resulted in the perpetuation of a system equally inefficient for large intellectual culture and for professional preparation. Thus the exclusively classical complexion of the Oxford curriculum has slighted and ignored nearly all other branches of general learning, neglecting both those most recondite and those most habitually needed in the present day :—contemning science, discarding philosophy, and throwing logic to the dogs. It may afford refinement to the tastes, and generates, in some instances, an earnest passion for general learning, but it cultivates only a part of the mental powers, substituting too frequently a graceful species of intellectual reverie for universal development, and inspiring rather an idle habit of brooding over the past, and regretting the bye-gone, than a generous enthusiasm in the discharge of the urgent duties of the present. These pernicious results flow from classical studies, however, only when these are exclusively pursued, and are studied in a defective and insufficient manner. They may have been the legitimate consequences of the Academic course of Oxford, but, certainly, no such injurious tendencies are to be attributed to the more thorough and more zealous cultivation of the classics in the German Universities. The system, which has been long in vogue at the great sister University of Cambridge, is even narrower and more fatal than that enforced at Oxford. Trinity rejects nearly all that Oriel disregards; and it rejects also nearly all that is excellent at Oxford, confining its energies almost exclusively to mathematics alone. While professing and believing that it pursues a liberal course of study, Cambridge thus eventuates in a purely one-sided development, and is more special in its actual means and tendencies than any merely professional school, which is regularly organized. It has substituted the extravagant tension of one intellectual faculty for the liberal expansion of all, and has checked even the scientific proficiency to which it was its design to minister. In these two great English establish-

ments we have examples of the opposite effects of the cultivation of either extreme. Oxford aims at the communication of a liberal education in an illiberal manner, by the exclusive cultivation of the ancient tongues; Cambridge at scientific instruction by the solitary pursuit of mathematics—the great instrument or organon of the sciences. Each fails to accomplish the purposes of general education, but Cambridge, whose system is the more special and the more *practical*, fails the more signally of the two. The University of Edinburgh, in contradistinction to her illustrious English sisters, has directed all her energies towards technical knowledge, and the augmentation of a single professional school—that of medicine. And what has been the result of the respective courses of these three great Universities? We may recognize their total failure without looking beyond the special departments most assiduously cherished in each. For the most profound, enlightened, and comprehensive scholarship, classical or linguistic, we must go, not to Oxford, but to the German Universities; for the most thorough mathematical attainments we must apply, not to Cambridge, but to the *Ecole Polytechnique* and the savans of the European Continent; for the highest medical ability we must look, not to Edinburgh, but to London, Paris, and probably New-York, Philadelphia, and Charleston.

We have never entertained any very high respect for an Edinburgh medical diploma, but we confess we have been surprized at the exceedingly low estimate put upon it by the present discussions. As such an undue reverence for its supposed value still survives in many parts of our country, we will cite the expressions of Sir William Hamilton, himself a Scotchman, and, if we are not mistaken, the son of a distinguished Edinburgh physician. He says, “that a Scottish degree in medicine is now a valid guarantee of no higher classical accomplishment, than the licence from a Surgical College, or the certificate from Apothecaries’ Hall.”* Again: “A smaller amount and an inferior quality of liberal learning is, in Scotland, required to qualify for the highest honors

* *Discussions, &c.*, p. 333.

and privileges in the profession, than even in Ireland is deemed necessary for the very lowest; so that the medical aspirant who finds himself, from want of Greek, unable to rise into a Dublin apothecary, is obliged to subside into an Edinburgh physician." * * * "Our Alma Mater, degraded by her members, selling, for their interest, her highest honours, at a lower literary price than is exacted, not only by other academical bodies, but even by the inferior licensing corporations, is, in fact, constrained by her own officers to convert her 'Seminary of Science' into an 'Asylum of Ignorance,' covering the country with her annual issues of 'graduated dunces'—of *Doctores indocti*. * * * Medicine has now ceased in Scotland to be a learned profession; and though, even in Scotland, learned medical men may still be found, there is here no longer any assurance, not to say of a superior erudition, but any guarantee against the lowest ignorance, afforded to the public in a medical degree."† This is the testimony of a Professor of the University of Edinburgh, and admits of abundant confirmation from the depositions of Edinburgh physicians, and from other sources. Sir William Hamilton is not less severe upon the imperfections and shortcomings of the Oxonians and Canterbrigian systems, though he concedes to the former a liberal purpose and a partial accomplishment of its aim. He complains, however, that the one gives a restricted culture, and the other a positively pernicious one, while neither give any available professional education at all. Thus, both are dexterously successful in missing both the higher and the lower aims of education, though they fail in unequal degrees.

Such are the consequences of a narrow pursuit of liberal studies alone, and such the consequences of an illiberal prosecution of either practical knowledge or of merely professional instruction. Each plan is defective, though, perhaps, not equally so; each fails of attaining the legitimate ends of the higher education, and of ministering effectually to the objects of the lower instruction. But is liberal education on

† Discussions, &c., p. 630, 631, &c. See these essays generally for strictures on the Oxford and Cambridge systems.

this account to be deprived of its supremacy ? or is practical education to be entirely disregarded ? By no means : both purposes are to be contemplated, and may be most satisfactorily achieved in concert. It is only requisite to give to liberal studies a larger interpretation, and a more judicious and extensive application, to render them capable of fulfilling worthily their functions as the supreme guide of intellectual culture. Let them embrace all the departments of that more general learning, whose principles are available, and whose influences are felt in the various walks and the special duties of life ; not seeking for a smattering of all special science, or that delusive and superficial universality which is too often contemplated in our American schools and colleges, but aiming at the harmonious development of the several faculties of the mind, and the communication of that general knowledge, and that art of employing knowledge, which constitute the true *propædæutic* to all available special acquisitions whatever. So conceived, liberal education merits the ascendancy which it is still entitled to retain. Its purpose, and the order of its functions, are not changed because its efficiency may have been impaired by defective or mistaken application.

We believe it was the remark of Ferguson, or some other memorable self-taught man, that he did not see the necessity of further teaching, after the alphabet of his own language had been acquired. There are very few of us who can proceed confidently to further acquisitions with so slender a viaticum at the outset, or can dispense with ampler instruction ; but the principle implied in the observation is undoubtedly correct. The knowledge which it is most important to communicate, with a view to ulterior purposes, is that which may serve as an introduction to other branches of knowledge, and enable us to appropriate them ourselves. And just in proportion to its aptitude in this respect, and to the extent of the domain to which it acts as an entrance gate, will its importance be enhanced as a means of education.

And here, for the sake of convenience, let us make clear the distinction between education, in its precise, restricted sense, and the instruction which is so often unwarrantably

confounded with it. Education, so limited, we conceive to refer more appropriately to the drawing out; exercising and disciplining the powers of the mind, to the formation and guidance of its capacities. Instruction relates to the supply of the materials of knowledge on which the educated intellect is to operate—the pabulum by which it is to be nourished. The former proposes the enlargement, improvement, and general adaptation, for all legitimate uses, of the agent by which knowledge is acquired, digested, and applied; the latter regards the contents which this agent is to digest. Hence, education is infinitely higher in its functions and more general in its uses than instruction; and hence, too, that learning is best adapted to the purposes of the former, which ministers not to the complete attainment of any one branch of science or art, but to the more general capacity for the appropriation of all, or of any that may be required.

We have now sufficiently exhibited the principles and objects of collegiate education to be able to estimate, on broad and intelligent grounds, the means by which they are most likely to be efficiently achieved. But we would first consider here, as a more suitable opportunity may not be offered, the nature of the instruction, or the process of education, usually employed in our colleges. This is by lectures, or oral teaching:—the most appropriate and the most apt mode of instruction, if the cultivation of the mind is principally sought; the least suitable, if the communication of precise knowledge, or, what is vulgarly termed, fact, is chiefly desired. Of course it still retains its admirable aptitude, if the attainment of both ends, with the due subalternation of the higher to the lower purpose, is contemplated by a single, simple, and harmonious procedure. This should be the constant design of any healthy system of collegiate study, for, we are not required, as before observed, to select one of two purposes, and disregard the other, but we may and should pursue both in combination, only not too sedulously prosecuting the lower aim, and not unnecessarily degrading and sacrificing the higher.

With this understanding, the oral method of instruction, by lectures, is peculiarly adapted for the collegiate course.

Its eminent advantages were fully and acutely appreciated by Plato and the ancient philosophers. It does not communicate facts with much fullness or precision, but it impresses principles with a singular force, and explains doctrines with surprising effect. It does not weary or paralyze individual effort, but it exacts the attention and the reflection, and exercises the other intellectual faculties of the student ;—it quickens his apprehension, vivifies his meditation, stimulates his inquiries, heightens his zeal, compels him to arrange, methodize, and harmonize his acquisitions, and generates a lively activity of thought and promptitude of judgment by that kindly sympathy which is so readily but mysteriously established between the speaker and the hearer. It also spreads a charm over the pursuit of knowledge, and lends an interest to its acquirement, which are both equally denied to it, especially in budding manhood, when it is undertaken in the seclusion of the closet ; and it relieves it of the dullness and tedium which are attendant upon its unaided extraction from books, or on the routine process of mere catechetical interrogation. It has a further advantage in not dispensing with either private study or special examination ; but it gives point, purpose, direction, and an ulterior interest to the former, and it makes the latter an admirable exercise of the reflective and tenacious memory, instead of permitting it to be limited to an unthinking and psittacine repetition. Hence, we may perceive the blunder committed, either through the misconception of the professors, or the misapprehension of the students, when college lectures are directed to the mere communication of facts, to the simple enforcement of textual positions, instead of being employed for the development of the thinking faculties of the student. It matters comparatively little if the collegian, after his course is over, does not remember a single thesis in his text books, and has imbibed not a single doctrine from his teachers, provided that he has been taught to think, reflect, and judge soberly and conclusively for himself, and has had his mind trained by healthy discipline for future independent inquiry. But, if his intellect has been stagnant or passive in the reception of ideas, he would derive no real benefit from being

able to repeat by rote every line in his books, and every word that had fallen from the lips of his instructors. Yet, despite of these truths, how habitually are the true functions of the lecture-room mistaken!—and the practices of the grammar-school carried into the classes of the college!—so that what should furnish the healthy education of the maturing man is still merely the dose prescribed for the immature school-boy!

With these remarks on the nature of the collegiate mode of instruction, we proceed to consider the respective values of the different branches of knowledge, introduced into the curriculum, for the purpose of college education. We have laid down the general principles which should determine our decision, and have now only to keep steadily in mind their bearing, while we examine the order in which the several departments of learning enter, or should enter, into a college course.

In this country the principal attention is paid in collegiate studies to the physical sciences, and to their special organon, mathematics; in a secondary rank are ranged political economy and kindred branches; while metaphysics is taught by a very feeble and inefficient process, the languages estimated at a little more than the value of philosophy proper, though more diligently pursued in consequence of the prevalence of old habits, and logic utterly despised, and either entirely disregarded, or handled with such spiteful entreaty that it were better it should be entirely neglected. In the pursuit of languages, the modern tongues, if not as commonly taught as the ancient, in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining suitable instructors, are considered in popular estimation to be the more important of the two, inasmuch as they may be useful either for the study of contemporary literature or of the science of foreign nations, or for association with the natives of foreign countries. It may safely be said, that the order in which the various branches of collegiate education are estimated in our times, and the rank which the apparent tendencies of the age seem inclined to attribute to them, may be thus represented. First, the physical sciences, then mathematics, next modern languages and political

economy, then the ancient languages, the various branches of moral philosophy, and, far below these, metaphysics; and, last of all, or more frequently not at all, logic. It will be observed that there is no rational principle of succession regulating this order. On the principles which we have already laid down, it will also readily appear that this arrangement is almost entirely arbitrary and is wholly erroneous, and altogether ridiculous; yet it accords very nearly with the practice of most of our collegiate establishments.

We proceed to test the claims of these several departments of study in the collegiate scale, availing ourselves of the luminous observations and indications of Sir William Hamilton, and paying especial regard to the general principles of the criticism which have been already exhibited. These resolve themselves into two general rules. The efficacy of any study for the double purpose which ought to be contemplated in collegiate education, is determined—first, by the exercise which it is calculated to afford to the various faculties of the mind, the number and grade of those faculties which it calls into habitual play, and the consequent development of them which it occasions; and, secondly, by the relation which each particular study bears to the whole field of knowledge, that is to say, by the number and importance of the departments of human speculation and practice to which it constitutes the proper preparation and introduction. Of course, these rules utterly exclude the vulgar supposition, that any collegiate education can be worthy of the name, or can fully attempt the high purposes of its office, which proposes to teach by rote or practically does so, or merely communicates an aggregate of facts, which can at all times be more accurately and more expeditiously acquired from an *Encyclopædia* or other books.* They also banish, or place a comparatively slight value upon those sciences which only call into action a few faculties of the mind, or only require the service of the lower powers of the intellect.

* Kant says justly: "It is useless to teach the pupil thoughts—we must teach him to think; the pupil must not be carried, but guided, if we expect him afterwards to walk by himself." *Logique. Trad. Tissot. App. iv., p. 349.*

It is at once manifest that the first two studies on the popular scale, besides the censure to which their arrangement may be obnoxious on other grounds, are misplaced with respect to each other. Mathematics were regarded by Plato, and some other ancients, as the propædæntic of all science,* and have been so considered by many of the moderns.† Without running into any such extreme, we may safely say that, in the present age, they have become the necessary introduction to all the physical sciences, and should, therefore, take the precedence of them. It is an absurdity congenial only with Yankee academies, female colleges, and girl's boarding schools, to pretend to study the natural sciences, without the aid, or in advance of the acquisition of mathematics. But the latter science has also a special value of its own, and one which renders it peculiarly efficacious in the educational curriculum; though we should be steadily on our guard against the danger which is hazarded when it is prosecuted exclusively or in any excess. It certainly excites and cultivates habits of application, of close attention, and of abstraction; and these mental capabilities are indispensably necessary for the satisfactory acquisition of knowledge, under any of its forms. More powers of the mind, and sometimes powers of a higher order, in the actual investigation and discovery of the mysteries of nature, and in the determination of the practical results of science. But it may be very reasonably doubted whether, in the collegiate study of the physical sciences, anything is attained beyond the excitation of a lively and not always liberal curiosity,‡ and the acquisition by rote of the detailed facts, and the disconnected principles which are communicated in the lecture-

* The celebrated inscription over the Academy is declared by Sir William Hamilton, pp. 271, 311, to be a late fiction; but the principle was asserted by Plato, Aristot. *Metaph.* iii., v. p. 1010. David. Schol. Aristot. pp. 12, 26.

† Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*. p. 43, Comte. *Cours de Phil.* Pos. i. p. 112, Hoene Woonski. *Messianisme*. Brewster, &c.

‡ We are acquainted with one State University, and a class of Natural Philosophy, one of whose members, with the concurrence of others, expressed an anxious desire that the Professor would perform "a few more of them tricks"—thus designating the scientific experiments.

room. Thus, whatever rank may be finally assigned to mathematics and the physical sciences, it is certain that the former is better adapted to the general purposes of education than the latter, and should therefore be the more sedulously cultivated of the two.

But, even after this transposition is effected, we have no reason to accord to these studies the common position which is popularly assigned to them at the head of the scale. When compared with the other branches which we have enumerated, they do not most fully satisfy the requirements of those rules which we have ventured to propose as a canon. They satisfy neither of them as fully as many other studies, and are singularly deficient in the most important merits when tested by the first and most obligatory prescription. We have already assigned a reason for the subordination of natural philosophy to mathematics, which would alone suffice to reject the former from the head to very nearly the bottom of the scale—like the pushing and presumptuous guest at the wedding feast, who was bidden to take a less honourable place in order that those worthier than he might occupy the higher seats. We have also said that mathematics calls into operation but a few faculties of the mind, and those of no very comprehensive order, however indispensable they may be; and thus might at once be justified its relegation to a more subaltern position. But it may be said, as it is commonly believed, that these studies are peculiarly difficult, and especially require the guiding hand of a preceptor; that they demand more than ordinary vigour of intellect and capacity for their adequate acquisition; that they communicate a large body of knowledge, and a vaster array of general facts than most of the others; and, therefore, must exercise the mind to the greatest extent and in the most wholesome manner, so as to be rightfully entitled to their alleged precedence.

It is amusing, after listening to such allegations, or remembering how often they are alleged, how boisterously asserted, and how credulously believed, to turn to the pages of Sir William Hamilton, and examine the exuberant testimonies to the direct contrary, which he has collected from

the most dissimilar sources and the most various times ;—embracing the evidence, not of poets and romancers, not merely of metaphysicians and moralists, but still more copiously exhibiting the declarations, direct and unqualified of mathematicians, men of science, and superintendents of education. So abundant as well as overpowering is the mass of such testimony that we cannot do more than refer to it here ; but we beg those who are still wedded to their lightly received delusions to read with especial care and attention the array of witnesses and their depositions, which are collected in that remarkable essay on mathematical study, in which Prof. Whewell, the champion of mathematics, the mouth-piece of Cambridge, the master of Cambridge, is unhorsed, and mercilessly cudgelled. In regard to mathematics, Sir William Hamilton concludes,* that “if we consult reason, experience, and the common testimony of ancient and modern times, none of our intellectual studies tend to cultivate a smaller number of the faculties, *in a more partial or feeble manner than mathematics.*” The italics are the author’s, not ours. This position is confirmed by the express declarations of Bernhardi, Von Wieller, Klumpp, Goëthe, D’Alembert, DesCartes, Ammonius, Albertus Magnus, Fracastorius, Themistius, Roger Bacon, and Kenelm Digby. The extreme facility of mathematical investigations is asserted by Cicero, Zuingerus, Warburton, Aristotle, Niemeyer, Huet, DesCartes, Wolf, Daries, Colerus, Horrebooius, Weidler, Lichtenberg, &c. ; and, we might add, Kant and Comté. Its pernicious influence on the mind, when pursued exclusively, or with any unusual avidity, is proved from Pascal, Berkeley, S’Gravesande, D’Alembert, Lichtenberg, Dugald Stewart—so far, all distinguished mathematicians—Ludovicus Vives, Clarendon, LeClerc, Buddeus, Barbeyrac, Walpole, Gibbon, Kirwan, and DeStael. Sir William then proceeds to demonstrate, by summoning a like cloud of illustrious witnesses, that mathematical studies, and especially the modern mathematics, lead the mind into either superstitious credulity or infidel scepticism. Every fond pretence, every

* Discussions, &c., p. 268.

fallacious delusion, by which the legitimate ascendancy of mathematics has been maintained, is unceremoniously and effectually torn away; and, though the efficacy of the study as an instrument of science, and as a subordinate part of education is candidly acknowledged, it is proved to be the least apt, the least effectual, the most easy, and the most dangerous of the subjects of collegiate pursuit. It should, indeed, still remain one of the earliest branches of University study, but it should also be one of the least esteemed. It is more easily and more accurately attainable by private study than almost any other branch of knowledge; and it may be extensively pursued with more profit and less danger in mature years than in early life. It should only be so far studied in college as to generate and strengthen habits of application, attention and logical reflection, to furnish the means for the further extension of mathematical attainments at any future time when they may be required, and to afford the necessary introduction and assistance for the prosecution of the physical sciences.

To these we may apply a criticism somewhat similar in kind, though not the same in degree. They partake of some of the disadvantages of mathematics, but they escape also many of its dangers. They may lead very naturally to infidelity, as Lord Bacon frequently observes, but they do not incline towards superstition. They do not strain a few faculties at the expense of others, and they exercise, if it is but slightly, several of the lower powers of the mind. At college, however, they are usually mastered by the simple action of the memory alone. Whether acquired in this way, or more diligently prosecuted in after life, they always remain among the easiest and most lucrative branches of human knowledge. "In physical science," says Sir Wm. Hamilton, "the discovery of new facts is open to every blockhead, with patience, manual dexterity, and acute senses: it is less effectually promoted by genius than by co-operation, and more frequently the result of accident than design.* This position might be strengthened by the consen-

* Discussions, &c., p. 239.

taneous testimony of Kant,* the metaphysician and natural philosopher, and of Comté, the positivist, and exclusive advocate of science.† Would we, then, reject the sciences altogether from the circle of collegiate studies? By no means. We think that breadth and variety of knowledge have their due importance, as well as depth and intensity of thought. We would only place a low estimate on the value of the scientific course, and regard it rather as a recreation than a task; rating it considerably above music, dancing and painting, perhaps on a par with modern languages, but below the other branches of collegiate study.

Another reason for varying so widely from the popular sentiment in the estimate of the natural sciences as a part of education, is furnished by the fact, that there is no part of learning which less requires extrinsic aid, and none whose intrinsic attractions are more level to the general appreciation. The brilliant results and the immediate pecuniary rewards of proficiency in these sciences, especially as ordinarily pursued in our own day, provide sufficient stimulants for their cultivation at a later period, without calling for the careful tendance and hot-bed culture of academic encouragement. They can only be acquired, moreover, with any lasting profit and with real benefit to the student, when accompanied with original observation and self-suggested experiment; and all that their collegiate pursuit can produce, in the majority of instances, is babbling ostentation and superficial pretension.

We pass next to the different branches of philosophy, properly so called: Moral Philosophy, National Law, Political Economy, History, Metaphysics, and we will add in this place, though it is usually neglected altogether, Logic. These are enumerated in the order of their popular estimation, and in the inverse order of their difficulty and real importance as collegiate studies.

Moral Philosophy is generally taught in our colleges, either as a trivial appendix to that empirical scheme of psychology, the metaphysics of the Scotch school, or is absorbed in the

* Kant Critique du Jugement, vol. i, p. 256, Trad. J. Bami.

† Comté Cours de Philosophie Positive, vol. i, p. 651.

communication of its more concrete form, international law. Sometimes it is still more weakly infused, as an isolated and unconnected study, through the trashy medium of Paley or Wayland. We think it would be well to exclude both ethics and international law from the ordinary circle of academical education. As habitually expounded *ex cathedra* they appear too simple to excite any very great interest, to rivet much attention, or to convey any considerable amount of knowledge. This apparent simplicity springs from the fact that the principles on which their ethical sciences are established, are the familiar and instructive truths of every day action and of human conscience. We seem to learn nothing new, because the correlations of those principles and their foundations are only exhibited in a very superficial manner, and their applications to the active life of individuals and of nations, are only displayed under their simplest and most obvious forms. One of the pernicious consequences of the practice is, that the whole theory of morals appears to be simplified into the plainest of all human sciences; it is reduced to a mere sciolistic explanation of the common instincts of humanity. The domain of morals is thus degraded, and the binding obligation, as well as the necessity of revealed truth are completely obscured. The real difficulties of ethical doctrine, and they are very great, lie completely beyond the circle of its ordinary collegiate treatment. They are found in the investigation of the conditions and grounds of moral responsibility; and, at the opposite pole, in the steady application of ethical precepts to those numerous cases in life, where there is an apparent conflict or moral equipoise of moral prescriptions. The inherent difficulty of the subject, when adequately contemplated, may be exemplified by the admirable treatise of Kant on the Practical Reason:—the only essay on morals which, in our estimation, approximates to a satisfactory estimation of the range and character of the subject. There is no question that, in our day, the science which is most imperfectly developed, most narrowly and illiberally conceived, and which most imperatively requires thorough and complete reconstruction, both on its own account, and for the behoof of society at large, is moral

philosophy. This is fully and explicitly recognized by M. Comté in his late elaborate work, but the science is degraded and caricatured by his attempted reformation. Ten years ago we called attention to the necessity for the reconstitution of morals, in the pages of this Review, and the lapse of time has only rendered its urgency more obvious. But, after all, for the practical purposes of life, the best system of morals is furnished by the commandments of Revelation, and it is best communicated from the pulpit, and by the example of an upright, pure, and well-spent life. We may, therefore, safely conclude with Lord Bacon, John Milton, and many other sages of earlier and of later times, that moral philosophy is most judiciously excluded from the ordinary studies of youth. So far as the college is concerned, we may apply the language of Cicero—"qui secum loqui poterit, sermonem alterius non requiret." As to any further or more profound investigations, they should be postponed to a later period of life, when the judgment becomes more cool and sober, the comprehension larger, the penetration more perspicacious, and when we cease to fancy that we have learnt all that need be known, as soon as we have acquired a smattering acquaintance with a subject, which is lucid just in proportion to its shallowness.

Very nearly the same train of observations is applicable to National Law, which is only the application of ethics to a more limited and concrete subject-matter; and whose development thus becomes much simpler, so far as the fundamental principles are concerned, though more intricate and perplexed, as more deeply "immersed in matter," in respect to the extension of the rules to particular cases. We are not disposed to deny the utility of this branch of learning, so far as it may be designed as a philosophical introduction to municipal law, and as a preparation for a profession, but as a general part of the higher education, we deem it entirely inappropriate.

Lord Bacon concurs with Aristotle* in declaring political philosophy to be an unsuitable study for youth. But in our

* * * * τῆς πολιτικῆς οὐκ ἔστιν δικαίος ἀκροατὴς ὁ νέος. Eth. Nicomach. i. c. i, p. 1095.

day some modification of this opinion is apparently requisite, and may perhaps be introduced without departing very materially from the real sentiments of the great philosophers who have uttered this censure. There is no doubt that Lord Bacon spoke of the youth who were, in his times, the attendants upon University lectures. It was then the common practice to send boys of ten and twelve years of age to the Universities, and to withdraw them at fifteen or sixteen. Lord Bacon himself was only fifteen when he left Cambridge. In the case of such students, political philosophy would be obviously an improper pursuit. It may be supposed, too, that the youth referred to by Aristotle were those below the age of the Ephebi, hence under eighteen; and here again, in the majority of instances, (and in the regulation of colleges the majority must furnish the rule,) it would be an injudicious branch of study. But where the ages of the collegians range from sixteen to twenty-two, oftener approaching the later than the earlier limit, the objection of the ancient and the modern philosopher vanishes, or is applicable with materially diminished force. *Cessante ratione, cessat lex.* It is especially important in a republic that those who are immediately about to take a part, more or less prominent, in the discharge of political functions, should have some accurate acquaintance with the nature of their duties, with the character of the constitution under which they live, with its relation to the people and to other polities, and with the consequences which may be expected to result from their own actions, and from the different political measures which they may advocate or oppose. So far, however, we consider the education of the man as a citizen, and not merely as a man; the man as designed for the fulfilment of a special class of duties, not as intended for the most efficient performance of human duties in general. We have seen that the latter is the more cogent consideration of the two with reference to collegiate education. But, in this latter respect, political philosophy is not without extensive use. Besides the near approximation which the sum of the duties of the citizen makes to the whole duty of man, political philosophy calls actively into exercise many of the noblest

faculties of the mind ; it trains them in the application of various knowledge to the practical concerns of life, it expands the range of the intellect, and counteracts the narrow prejudices and blind bigotry which are generated by the experience and reflection which are limited to only one form of government, and to only a small portion of the political operations of the State. But its principal efficacy for the purposes of the higher education consists in its furnishing the transition stage from pure or abstract philosophy to mere practice ;—in its exemplifying the combination of theoretical doctrines with the procedure of daily action ; and thus supplying that intermediate ground between speculation and practice, which exhibits the healthy and harmonious conditions of the most enlightened and efficacious discharge of the duties of life. To each of the extremes it bears the same relation and proportion that the *axiomata media* of Lord Bacon bear to abstract philosophy and unreasoning empiricism.

In Great Britain, and on the Continent of Europe, political philosophy is rarely taught in the Universities ; and probably too little attention is paid to it, either under the form of general politics, or under the more special form of constitutional law, in the American Colleges. Yet, in this country, it has inspired the able but unsound work of Story, the brilliant dissertations of Judge Henry and Judge Beverly Tucker, and the admirable treatise of Dr. Lieber on Political Ethics—a work not sufficiently studied amongst us, it is to be feared, but deservedly enjoying, throughout Europe, the very highest reputation, and there occupying a position by the side of Aristotle, Bacon, Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Filangieri and Burke.

There is, however, some danger of placing too high an estimate on political philosophy, as a regular branch of collegiate study. It may serve for the regulation and discipline of the mind, but it can scarcely minister, with the desirable efficiency, in the class room, to expansion and invigoration of its powers. It does not tax and strain them sufficiently to effectuate a constant progression in this respect. It may constitute an admirable subsidiary study, but it

should never be magnified into an object of principal concernment. Indeed, nearly all that can be adequately taught, of this part of knowledge, may be very happily combined with the noble study of history, and much may be judiciously incorporated into any series of lectures on political economy, which is only a subdivision of political philosophy. For these reasons we have not introduced political philosophy into our programme of the branches of ethical science to be taught in colleges.

The Trustees and Faculties of our collegiate establishments have, perhaps, been too assiduous in their efforts to enforce instruction on political economy, and have laid too much stress on its supposed importance. This is very probably a natural consequence of the tendencies of our times, especially in the most free and enlightened communities, in which the functions of government have been gradually reduced and contracted, and, in general estimation, ought to be so reduced and contracted, to little more than the exercise of those powers which minister to the security of property and the unrestrained accumulation of wealth. If the objects of government are rightly limited to so narrow a range, then nearly the whole of political philosophy may be embraced in political economy, and the advantages which were supposed to appertain to the former, as a part of collegiate education, will belong in an inferior degree to the latter. But, if the theory of government and society includes a much wider circle than the theory of wealth, and the latter is contemplated as merely one of the subordinate divisions of the former, then the study of political philosophy must be in many respects a more important and valuable, as well as a more comprehensive pursuit than political economy. Indeed, the entire dependence of the part on the whole to which it belongs, and the extreme danger of treating the part separately from the discussion of the whole, induced M. Comté to deny the possibility of constructing any valid science of political economy. His objections have been examined and canvassed by Mr. Mill, and so far as they are contemplated by him, they have been deprived of much of their cogency, but he has failed to consider them from the

same elevated point of view from which they were originally discovered; and, singularly enough, after this formal refutation in his logic, Mr. Mill takes no notice of them, nor of M. Comté's other observations on the general subject, in the treatise which he has professedly written to exhibit the modern doctrines of political economy.

It would thus appear that political economy, as a collegiate pursuit, only shares the benefits attributable to political philosophy, and shares them only in an inferior degree. It is a special merit which it possesses, that it is more simple, more systematic, more commodious, more readily comprehended, and requires for its appreciation a smaller range of experience and a narrower circle of information.

We have not alleged, as an objection to the study of political economy, though fully cognizant of the fact, that it is still only a conjectural or hypothetical science. This defect can only unfit it for the collegiate course so far as it may be taught as a precise and fixed body of established, and not so far as it furnishes an arena for the exercise of the mind. Whatever serious disadvantage may spring from this source is due to the Professor and not to the doctrine. We think, indeed, that very loose and inaccurate notions are prevalent on the subject of political economy, both among those who recognize, and those who disclaim the pretensions of this science. It has no title to the certainty, the importance, or the range of application which the first suppose; it is not as arbitrary, as unsettled, or as nugatory as the latter imagine. It is a provisional systematization, more or less true, of a vast body of facts and inductions, valid or hypothetical, in regard to the most general, but the least elevated phenomena of social action. These still wait philosophical interpretation; their present co-ordination ought never to be regarded as any thing more than a temporary exposition. But, contemplated even in this light, political economy adapts itself admirably to the purposes of collegiate education, possessing some recommendations which are peculiar to itself, and presenting the same claims, though in a slighter degree, which are accorded to political philosophy.

Both of these are, however, to a very great extent depend-

ent upon history, from which the most of these facts must be derived, and which furnishes such a vast and varied body of examples for their use and illustration. The condition of the world, at any period, is but the summation and development of its past conditions in preceding periods. The discoveries of to-day are but the blossoming of the seeds which had been planted, or had sprung up yesterday; and the necessities, as the appliances of the hour, are only the consequences of earlier effort and experience, and development. Thus, any adequate education, whether special or general, demands a competent acquaintance with history, which was beautifully described by Cicero as the witness of the ages, the light of truth, the life of memory, the guide of life, and the messenger of antiquity. Yet, though it lends its necessary aid to all speculation and all practice; gives life, significance, truth and compensation to all science, and theory, and action; is a most effective ministrant in the discharge of public as well as private duties; adds fulness and assurance to professional avocations, and grace and dignity to all social intercourse;—notwithstanding all these claims, it has never had that consideration accorded to it which it so richly merits. Let it be observed that, while it enlarges and strengthens the mind, cultivates the various intellectual powers, and most efficiently subserves the purposes of general education, there is no special pursuit in life, and no special duty, which can afford to renounce its assistance.

By all means, then, history should occupy a prominent position in the circle of collegiate studies. But it is not facts, nor is it the details of history which should be principally taught, but it is the principles by which facts are to be criticised and estimated, the mode of gathering and arranging them judiciously, and the manner of applying them with confidence and success. Thus, the greatest advantage, both as respects the general formation and culture of the mind, and the future employment of the knowledge acquired, is to be gained from the sedulous cultivation of history in collegiate establishments. Any detached portion of the annals of any nation, mastered in the spirit we propose, will be productive of more valuable results as an agency of intellec-

tual improvement, and as a preparation for further researches, than all the details, of all the long chronicles, of all ages and nations, swallowed in the crude state, repeated by rote, or read over hastily as an idle amusement.

We arrive at length at the highest branches of philosophy—those which are most censured, most abhorred, least understood, and least attended to—metaphysics and logic. It is true that some little instruction is given, in both, in most of our colleges;—but what sort of instruction? The most mutilated, the most fragmentary, the most curtailed, the most diluted, the most superficial, and the most ridiculous. These great departments of knowledge and education are merely caricatured by the manner in which they are ordinarily studied;—and this is more especially the case with regard to logic than to metaphysics. A brief abridgment of Scotch psychology, which bears about the same relation to metaphysical science that a tadpole does to a crocodile, is nearly all that is ordinarily pretended to be taught of the latter. In logic, the common practice, when studied at all, has been to descend to Hedge, or to Watts, whose treatise has less to do with logic than with astronomy. Sometimes, in late years, a wonderful ascent has been made to the elevation of Archbishop Whateley's work:—and what that is good for, and what it is not good for, may be most satisfactorily learnt from Sir William Hamilton's luminous and most interesting paper on logic in the present discussions. From him, too, may best be learnt the reasons which render metaphysics and logic so pre-eminently useful as parts of collegiate education. We are not disposed to weaken, by any comments of our own, what has been so admirably said by him on this topic. Conceding, which we are by no means disposed to do, all that has ever been remarked on the score of the ulterior inutility of these great and difficult studies, their peculiar value and efficiency, as instruments of a healthy, generous, and enlarged education, still remain unimpaired. We are not alone in attributing the vagueness of modern speculation,—the universal prevalence of unsuspected fallacies,—the weakness and invalidity of modern argumentation,—and the popular acceptance of the most pernicious sophisms,—

to the general neglect of metaphysics, and more especially of logic, during the recent centuries. Nor are we without hope that the example of Sir William Hamilton, and the cogency of his expositions, may again restore, after a long oblivion, these noble branches of speculation to their legitimate place in collegiate education, and in popular estimation. We commend his strictures on the subject most cordially to the appreciation of our readers, feeling almost confidently assured that, if they duly apprehend and soberly weigh his arguments, they will agree with us in desiring to see metaphysics and logic once more welcomed in our colleges, as the best discipline for the amplification of the powers and the extension of the capacities of students.

We have left to the last the consideration of the ancient and modern languages. The latter, though rarely taught in our institutions to any very considerable extent, are lustily advocated by the noisy and unreflecting crowd of outsiders, and sometimes by indiscreet partisans within the academical precincts. The former tongues, though habitually communicated, and usually with very inefficient scholarship, are just as lustily decried as useless in after life, and as ministering to no ulterior good.

We shall first briefly despatch the modern languages. We assent most cordially to all that is said simply in their praise, and without the design of exaggerating their importance at the expense of their elder brethren. The attainment of one or more of them is essential in our times to any education professing to be even moderately complete ; but they are not well adapted either for the modes of instruction peculiar to colleges, or for the purposes especially contemplated as the legitimate aims of collegiate teaching. To be prosecuted with effect, they must be studied in an entirely different manner, and with totally different objects, from those which should characterize the thorough indoctrination into the mysteries of ancient literature. The modern languages are, or ought to be, acquired for their direct and immediate uses, rather than for any indirect or consequential services which they may be calculated to render. We desire to learn to speak, to read, and to write them ;—not to study the exem-

plars of literary composition, the general laws of taste, or the philosophy of grammar and the organization of language. They are living tongues, and must be studied in consonance with their living application. Conversation, and the habitual exercise in the pronunciation, translation, and writing of these languages are the appropriate methods to be employed in their acquisition, and are only partially applicable to those of antiquity. These modes accord much more readily with the retirement of private tuition, than with the promiscuous publicity of the lecture-room. Unquestionably, in any complete collegiate establishment, ample provision should be made for the fullest instruction in these languages, because they have a direct and very extensive value both in after life and in the completion of a liberal education ;—because they may be more readily acquired at College than at any anterior or subsequent period ;—and because a college should always provide, as far as practicable, the requisite means for gaining that learning which may be of too difficult, uncertain, inconvenient, or expensive acquisition elsewhere. This last consideration should have great weight in determining what chairs should be established in a great University, though it should not regulate the selection of the studies which should be imperatively prescribed to all the students. It renders expedient, when the means and the scope of the institution will permit it, the endowment of chairs of those other languages of the cultivated East or of other times, the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Persic, the Sanscrit, the Anglo-Saxon, the Provençal, &c., though their acquisition should be left entirely optional with the students or their parents, as should also the majority of the modern languages. We are thus decidedly in favour of affording the means of instruction in the various tongues in our larger colleges, but we would not render the study of any but the ancient compulsory to any great extent, and we would dis sever them from the regular curriculum of the class-room, and cultivate them in the somewhat cloistral seclusion of private lecture-rooms. Before leaving this branch of the subject we would observe, that the modern languages cultivate much fewer powers of the mind, and cultivate them in a much slighter degree, than

the study of those classic tongues which have been justly dignified for fifteen centuries with the designation of Humane Letters.

To the humanities, then, as the last topic of our present inquiry, we now turn. An appellation apparently so disconnected from any of the obvious characteristics of the ancient languages, can scarcely have been bestowed upon them, by the familiar usage of all nations, without some latent propriety—some instinctive and intimate association of ideas, which it might be interesting to detect. We have no doubt, and we think it could be proved by abundant and conclusive evidence, that the terms, *Litteræ Humaniores* and *Humanitas*, have received their customary signification from the fact, that, in all that strengthens and developes the intellect of man, and gives grace, finish, and various accomplishments to the man full-formed in all the higher capacities of his nature—in all that tends to the most perfect education of the moral sentiments, the tastes, and the reflective powers of man, the classic literature of Greece and Rome has been proved, by long experience, to be the most efficacious discipline that can be applied. The diligent acquisition of the Greek and Latin tongues, with the concomitant study of the splendid remains of ancient genius and wisdom, in which they are perpetuated, is no mere exercise of the memory, no ordinary practice of routine, but a discipline which taxes, tests, and invigorates every faculty of the mind and every feeling of the heart; and calls into luxuriant bloom the latent energies of our being, and all the highest capacities of humanity, which, without the variety of the stimulant thus applied, might be dormant forever. There are three regular stages in the growth of each individual mind, which succeed each other in uniform order, and, if ever transposed, are so only in a few exceptional cases and in consequence of artificial misdirection. It would seem probable that, as in the succession of geological stratifications, one may rather be absent altogether than out of its due place. These stages are, first, the memory, the faculty of simple acquisition and retention, the earliest manifestation of the dawning mind.

This, if cultivated alone, or at the expense of others, produces mere pedantry and useless display. The second stage is the imagination, the instrument of genius and invention, poetic or practical, which, if unaccompanied with learning and unrestrained by reason, runs into extravagance, eccentricity, or wild and chimerical speculation. The last stage is that of the judgment, of inference and comparison, of what is usually regarded as peculiarly the reasoning faculty, which is, however, in its healthiest exercise, a combination of the three processes. This, too, if exclusively developed, generates a narrowness of thought; a shortness of intellectual vision, a hardness of heart, a barrenness of sentiment, a selfishness, and an incredulity, which constitute the familiar characteristics of the narrow-minded and illiberal man. The most perfect development of the collegian is that which harmonizes and adunates the characteristics of these three stages; blending all in due subordination, cultivating all assiduously, but preserving their natural and healthy relations to each other, their reciprocal interdependence, and their cordial concurrence. None should be checked or dwarfed, but all expanded; and their normal succession will perpetuate the due submission of the others to the preponderating influence of the mature reason. Indeed, if any preference may be shown, it should be to the culture of the memory and imagination, because it is certain that the habitual influences of manhood tend to cultivate the mere judgment in excess, and will thus counteract any slight excess in the expansion of the two earlier faculties. It is the peculiar merit of the ancient languages that they do effectually develop these various tendencies of the mind, and all their dependent powers, with the perfect and invigorating harmony desired. Other studies train either single or partial powers of the intellect, or train all in undue proportions, and in dislocated relations; this alone fully follows nature, as the unerring guide, and is calculated to produce those wholesome results which are sure to follow when we sagely obey the inspiration of nature. For these reasons we acknowledge the wisdom of our ancestors, and concede to the study of the classics the

first place, far beyond the reach of competition in the array of those branches of knowledge which are appropriate to collegiate education.

It would have been easy and grateful had our space permitted, to have repeated familiar arguments, and to have entered into a fuller proof of the value and utility of the ancient languages in collegiate study. But it is unnecessary to retrace the ground so exquisitely trodden by the late Hugh S. Legare. We might have pointed to the immediate application and universal use of classical learning in all the walks of life ;—as the only efficient instruction in grammar and the organization of language, even in the grammar and constitution of our mother-tongue ;—and as the indispensable preliminary to any general or liberal attainments in professional avocations, or in any other knowledge. But we disdain to degrade a noble subject by dwelling too particularly on advantages which are only secondary. Moreover, these have been briefly but ably indicated by Sir William Hamilton in his essay “On the Conditions of Classical Learning,” wherein he conclusively shows that the three learned professions of law, physic, and divinity have sunk in Scotland to their present pitiable degradation solely from the long continued indifference to classical studies.

The disparagement of the classics is no novelty, though many of its self-sufficient modern censors are ignorant that the battle has been often ably fought before, and always decided against them by the intelligence and common sense of every community. The warfare commenced with the persecution of Reuchlin and Erasmus by the illiterate monks, and of Budæus and Rabelais by the ignorant friars ; the attack of dullness was repelled by the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* and the veracious chronicles of Gargantua and Pantagruel. The feud was re-opened by Sir William Temple, Swift, and Boyle, but this three-headed Cerberus was crushed by the ponderous club of Bentley. It has been frequently agitated since by inferior men, always with the certainty of signal defeat. The whole question has been sedulously examined by the writers on Pædagogy on the European Continent ; and with an impartiality, a sobriety, a full-

ness of learning, of observation, of experience, and of philosophy, which can scarcely be combined elsewhere for the same purpose. We are assured by Sir William Hamilton that the result to which they have come, re-establishes, on firmer grounds than ever, the supremacy of this admirable branch of education.

“When classical learning has been vigorously cultivated, says he, the most powerful attacks have only ended in the purification and improvement of its study. In Germany and Holland, in Italy, and even in France, objections, not unreasonable, have been made to an exclusive and indiscriminate classical education; but the experimental changes they determined, have only shown in their result, that ancient literature may be more effectually cultivated in the school, if not cultivated alone; and that, whilst its study, if properly directed, is absolutely the means towards an harmonious development of the faculties—the one end of all liberal education; yet, that this mean is not always relatively the best, when circumstances do not allow of its full and adequate application.” (p. 329.)

We have now run over, and cursorily estimated the comparative merits of the different branches of collegiate study for the purposes of general education; and the conclusions to which we have come, induce us to arrange them in the order of their importance, almost inversely to the order conceded to them in popular estimation. First, beyond all question, we place the Ancient Languages; next, Philosophy, including Logic, Metaphysics, History, Political Economy and Political Philosophy; then Mathematics; and, lastly, Modern Languages and the Physical Sciences. None of these departments would we exclude from the circle of a liberal education, but we would not exaggerate the value, or cultivate the pursuit of the lower studies at the expense of the higher; nor prosecute branches, appertaining to special education, to the injury of those which peculiarly minister to the general discipline of the intellect.

We have, as we expected, only examined two of the four heads into which our subject divided itself, yet we have already transgressed our intended limits. We leave the elu-

cidation of the two other divisions, in regard to which very erroneous ideas prevail, to be gathered from Sir William Hamilton's Discussions, which we can most cordially commend to public favour, as embracing both much curious information and much interesting instruction in regard to the whole subject of education, and those dependent topics, whose due consideration materially affects the welfare of every community.

Virginia.

G. F. H.

ART. II.—RAMSEY'S ANNALS OF TENNESSEE.

The Annals of Tennessee, to the end of the Eighteenth Century: comprising its settlement, as the Watauga Association, from 1769 to 1777; [as] a part of North-Carolina, from 1777 to 1784; [as] the State of Franklin, from 1784 to 1788; [as] a part of North-Carolina, from 1788 to 1790; [as] the Territory of the United States, South of the Ohio, from 1790 to 1796, [and as] the State of Tennessee, from 1796 to 1800. By J. G. M. RAMSEY, A.M., M.D., Corresponding Secretary of the East Tennessee Historical and Antiquarian Society; Honorary Member of the Historical Society of the State of Georgia; Corresponding Member of the American Ethnological Society, etc. Charleston: Walker & James. 1853.

THERE is one point of view in which American history may be found to illustrate that of far older nations; in which we may trace their natural and gradual progresses, through a period and conditions in respect to which they themselves are now ignorant and silent. This advantage is due to the fact that the developments, in regard to the American colonies, were all made directly under the eye of a superior civilization, which not only possessed the capacity for appreciating a moral and social progress, and of philosophizing upon it, but was possessed also of the means for putting its

discoveries on record. There is, accordingly, no history of European nations quite so lucid as that of our country, whether as regards the native redmen of the region, or the white colonists to whom they finally succumbed. The circumstances of the time in which the discovery and settlement of the country were made, were all such as to strip the unknown of all its mysteries, to make its secrets intelligible to the understanding, and to bring all its properties to the test of a severe thought which science had sufficiently enlightened for this purpose. Accordingly, the early history of the country is free from fable. There are no "Gorgons, no chimera's dire" to distress ignorance with superstition, and afford room for invention to fabricate her ingenious fictions. The white man stood upon an eminence from which he was enabled to observe the full play of the passions of the savage; to note clearly all his habits; to trace his secret faith and feelings to their natural causes; to see him, in brief, in the naked simplicity of a primitive nature totally unembarrassed by the arts of convention; and to put on record, in ineffaceable characters, for universal study, all the discoveries which he made. It may be said with safety that the Aborigines of America are, accordingly, much better known to the historian and philosopher than those of any other region. This is certainly true as respects the absolute condition in which we found them. It may be that we really know little or nothing of their origin; of the wild and wonderful events that undoubtedly must have been of continual occurrence, for thousands of years, among thousands of distinct peoples, occupying the region, and more or less remarkable for their powers and performances. They, no doubt, went through a career as capricious, as full of strange vicissitudes, great triumphs and reverses, as any races that ever lived. Of course, there is an unknown past, the secrets of which we shall vainly try to fathom. We have proofs of antecedent races, of which we only know that they had attained a civilization very far beyond that of the redmen, as shown to us at the coming of Columbus. Of these, we are suffered to know no more. But our reference is not to these. Speaking, now, of the redmen alone, it is, however, certain

that they are far better known to us than were the early Egyptians, Greeks, Saracens and Germans to the historians of contemporaneous nations. We are better able to describe them and to analyze their properties of moral and capacity. We labour under no delusion in regard to their attributes or performances. They afford us no marvels, no wonders about which thought and science may bewilder themselves, as is the common case in other written histories of the Eastern and European world.

With the early white colonists of America, whether of Spain, France or England, the same circumstances enable us to read their career with equal clearness. Civilization, carrying with it the press, that agent of universal diffusion, has stript their progress of all that mystery which might have given free scope to fiction. We see them as they cross the seas, and as they plant their stakes in the wild territories of the heathen. The rival races confront each other in the sight of the world. The facts belonging to both are apparent at a glance. There can be no concealment. We witness the encounter that follows between them; we see them as they sway, to and fro, in alternate success and defeat, until the close of the event, when one of the parties disappears. To repeat, the history of American colonization by the Europeans, and of the progress, subsequently, by their descendants, is probably a more truthful history than was ever any where put on record. As we muse, we behold the solitary white pioneer passing a few paces out of the bounds hitherto assigned to the settlements of his people. He is endowed with curiosity and patient adventure. He is hardy and enterprising. He has borrowed some of the habits of the native hunters of the wilderness, and has imbibed some of their tastes. In addition to the courage and cunning of the redman, he carries with him the resources of a higher genius. Civilization has armed him with weapons of superior power, and a certain share of the intelligence which belongs to his race, is brought to co-operate with the instincts of the individual. He passes, with curious spirit and fearless heart, out of the customary ranges. He ascends the unknown barriers of rock, and breaks his way through the

tangled walls of the forest. He looks down upon new lands of luxuriance and beauty. He hears the murmur of hurrying waters that press forward to the embrace with unknown seas. He follows, under their guidance. He prepares the way for his people ; selects the garden spot which most delights his eye, and returns to bring with him his kindred. He plants his cabin in the wild, secures it with his pickets, and sets watchful eyes to note the approach of hostile footsteps. Then follows the struggle which requires that he shall keep bravely what he has so adventurously won. The signs of the lurking enemy are detected by a skill and vigilance as curious and sleepless as his own. The attack succeeds ; the defence ; the retreat ; and incident rapidly pursuing incident, crowded with all the circumstances of a most capricious partisan warfare, render the struggle between the parties a drama of the most exciting character. All the facts are apparent—upon the surface—and are unsusceptible of perversion. There is nothing which can, or need be, concealed, as to the progress or the conflict. Details may be lost, but their lack does not operate to render difficult our judgment upon the leading event ; and whether our object is the knowledge of the progress, or of the character and morals of the parties engaged in urging or opposing it, we are equally sure of our facts. These are beyond dispute, and where history does not attempt to narrate, she equally forbears to invent. She confesses her ignorance honestly, and thus establishes her claim to fullest faith in all those respects upon which she offers testimony.

It is in this particular that the American history ranks in authority above all others. We have few mistakes of fact to revise, no superstitions to discard, and if our philosophies lack a value proportioned to that of our data and criteria, the deficiency is one which our recorded material will at all times enable us to repair. No doubt our philosophy has made many mistakes, as well in respect to our own ancestral colonists, as in regard to the redmen ; but our errors are deficiencies, rather than errors, and arise mostly from the fact that we have not yet fairly begun to meditate upon our material. We have fed without digestion ; have been content

with mere facts, and have done little towards their grouping. The sources of our adventure, our character, our performances, have had too little of our consideration, and where our history fails us, it is due to the fact that our philosophy has not been brought to bear upon it. We have not yet sufficiently grouped our facts in due relation with each other, for the uses of the historian. This duty belongs to the chronicler. His is the labour of love which collects the scattered evidence; which sits patiently by the bedside of the dying octogenarian, and records his mumbling testimonies. He does not affect the historian, which implies digestion quite as much as narration. He is content to be the accumulator, the preserver, the recorder, the keeper of the archives and not their analyst. It is fortunate that there is at present a large and increasing number of these modest labourers in a too much neglected vineyard, who are gathering and binding together the wasting sheaves of our history; making amends to the past for neglect, and constituting themselves large creditors of the future. These labourers were much needed in the South. We have been but too indifferent to our memorials, and the histories of our ancestors. The reproach is due to most people who are devoted exclusively to agriculture, and whose sparseness of population seems to forbid literature. Our materials are abundant for the preparation of chronicles, as lively and stirring, as picturesque if not so imposing, as those of Froissart and Monstrelet; and, with devotees to the toil in all the States, they might each give to the world collections as interesting and various as those of Baker, Grafton, Holinshead and Stow. Froissart, by the way, was a great artist, who did quite as much for his matériél, perhaps, as it has done for him; and it will require of the chronicler, who shall undertake to tread in his footsteps, that he shall possess a large infusion of the elements necessary to the painter and the poet, as well as the antiquary and philosopher. But the materials, carefully gathered, delivered in simple style, and brought together in appropriate relationship, would, no doubt, quite as much enrich our literature as most of the British and other chronicled histories that we have mentioned; few of them doing

more than making simple records of the facts of early history, in the early progress of the nation, for the use of the future artist and historian.

We congratulate ourselves that the labour has been begun among us, and that the chroniclers, now in the field of our early history, are not too late to rescue from utter loss, all that is essential to a proper knowledge of what our ancestors have done, and by what processes they have wrought. We have recently had to acknowledge the highly useful contributions to our records, made by Dr. Joseph Johnson, of South-Carolina, Mr. Albert J. Pickett, of Alabama, and Col. ——— Wheler, of the "old North State." It is with great pleasure that we open the octavo of Dr. Ramsey, who narrates the early chronicles of Tennessee. His work is well written, and planned with propriety and judgment. It is something more than a chronicle, and rises at times to the dignity of history; though, to become such properly, it will need that he should greatly condense his materials. Original documents are of great value in such collections, but history demands more compactness than consists with the publication of original papers; requires that we should give the summing up of the just judge rather than the testimony of the numerous witnesses. But Dr. Ramsey modestly claims to be a chronicler only, and though we see that he might well have asserted a higher rank, yet we are too well satisfied to have the materiel which he has spread before us, to quarrel with him for his forbearance. We think it an error, however, that he has thought it necessary to trace, however briefly, the several progress of the Spanish adventurers in the region which went once under the general appellation of Florida. The career of Juan Ponce de Leon, of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, of Pamphilo de Narvaez, conducted neither of them into Tennessee. To that of Hernando de Soto our author has given from fifteen to twenty of his pages; yet it is very doubtful that Soto penetrated sufficiently far into the interior to have looked upon the territories of Tennessee. The evidence only goes to show that he probably skirted the southern bases of the Apalachian range; and even this is a large concession made to conjecture. Even suppo-

sing that he had penetrated Tennessee, of what use to pursue his wanderings when they constitute no part of the history of that country? The evidence which his expedition has left us, goes only to show the general character of the Apalachian tribes, and the whole of it might be summed up in a single paragraph. On this subject, we are informed by a thousand travellers and authorities, infinitely superior to those embodied in the Spanish and Portuguese accounts of Soto's progress; and to trace this progress from first to last, only in order to arrive at this one result, seems to us a most unprofitable incumbrance upon the book. We have, besides, an excellent summary of the career of Soto, made from the existing authorities, in the compact volume of Mr. Theodore Irving, with which most readers are familiar, and to which they might be referred. Every history of Florida contains the same narrative, drawn from the same familiar sources; and we have a score of these histories of Florida. Mr. Pickett, in his history of Alabama, went over the same ground, at some length, and more justifiably; since there can be no doubt that Alabama was especially the province in which the Adelantado of Florida travelled and travailed. That the narrative was to be found in all these books, would counsel the policy of omitting it from a history with which it is barely possible that the progress of Soto had any connection. It is quite as doubtful, the propriety of our author making any reference to Cartier and Roberval, Raleigh, the voyages of Amadas and Barlow, Lane, Grenville, and others. So, too, we may omit the history of British Patents, the settlement of Virginia, the charters granted by Charles II., the survey of the gradual growth of the Carolinas, the French progresses along the Lakes and the Mississippi, and many other matters, which belong to other histories, may be found in all, and which only encumber this. The narrative should have assumed the knowledge, on the part of the reader, of all the facts in connection with the settlements, by French and English along the coasts of the Gulph and the Atlantic, and should have begun with the first attempts of the English of the Atlantic colonies to cross the mountains and penetrate the territory which subsequently became that of the

noble State of Tennessee. If the history of each separate State is to repeat for us the discovery of the whole, the first settlements in all, there will be no end to it. We must look for such matters to the general history of the colonies, and the confederacy, and in the accounts of the individual States confine ourselves to those events only which strictly belong to them, or take place within their limits. We are the more earnest in this matter, as we fear lest our chroniclers and historians, pursuing the present plan, shall defeat their own objects, and deprive their books of all chance of circulation ; making them unnecessarily large and expensive, and requiring the reader to pay for narratives, which they already possess in fifty other volumes, and which more properly embody them.

The early discovery and settlement of the regions now known as Tennessee, proceeded from Virginia and the Carolinas, and probably began as early as 1690. During Spotswood's administration in Virginia, he crossed with a party of gentlemen the Apalachian mountains, and thought so much of the achievement, that he created an order of knighthood, the order of the Horseshoe; his companions being the knights of the order—not because they had discovered a horse pass over the mountains, as one of the authorities alleges, but because they passed on horse-back. To have done this, necessarily implied the discovery of a passage. The traders of the Carolinas had established an intercourse with the Cherokees ; and, as the settlements of the people were on both sides of the Apalachean chain, it followed, almost as a matter of course, that they should have crossed the dividing ranges also, probably at the same early period. And here we may stop to notice a remark, borrowed from Adair, in which our author assumes the name of the French Broad to have been given that branch of the Holston, in consequence of the claim set up by the French to the whole valley of the Mississippi. Adair does not say this ; but our author infers it from Adair's remark, and says : "Traders and hunters from Carolina, in exploring the country, &c., would hear of the French claim, as Adair did, and call it most naturally, French Broad."

The conjecture is plausible, but tradition tells a very different and more simple story. In an article on the "naming of places in the Carolinas," which we published several years ago in the "Southern and Western Magazine," the following narrative occurs. It is derived from William Robbins, who narrated it as far back as 1795. As it illustrates the unaffected habits of the borderers, their simple nature and curious enterprise, we give the passage at length. "Robbins said that, when a young man, a company of his neighbours from about the mouth of Rocky river on Pee Dee, together with himself, started upon a hunting expedition to the west—that they travelled until they came to the first large creek that falls into the Catawba river, on the east side, below the Tuckasidga Ford; there, at an Indian camp, they found a bear's paw. Hence they called it Paw creek. Having crossed the Catawba at Tuckasidga ford, following an Indian path, they came to the first large creek that falls into the Catawba, on the west side above the ford. There they found Henry Whitener, a Dutchman, who, at that time, could not speak English. From this, they called the creek "*Dutchman's*." Proceeding west, along the Indian path, they came to the south ford of the Catawba, and attempted to cross at a place now called Spencer's ford. On entering the river, the steel traps that they carried on a pack horse, became entangled with the brush along the bank. The horse took fright, and they had some difficulty in catching him again. Hence they called the crossing place *Trap Ford*. It was afterwards called Wyatt's Ford, James Wyatt owning the adjoining land. When he sold to Zachariah Spencer, it became Spencer's Ford, which it now remains. The company continued, after crossing the 'trap ford,' still along the Indian path, toward the west, when they came to the first large creek that falls into the west side of the south fork of the Catawba, above the ford; they followed that creek to its head, and, finding it to be long, they gave it the name of Long creek. Proceeding still west, and along the Indian path, they came to the river now called "First Broad," at or near Gardner's Ford, at a place where a rock lay horizontally over the bottom of the stream. This made the channel

wider, and caused them to call it "Broad River." Still going west, they came to another stream that *would* communicate with the first. This they called "Second Broad River." Keeping still their western direction, they reached a third stream still larger than either of the former, and which mingled with them. To this they gave the name of "*Main Broad.*" Having crossed this last stream, they camped on a creek on the west side of Main Broad, and put fire to a dead white oak tree, which burned, fell in the night, and had nearly injured some of the company. Hence they gave the name of "White Oak" to the stream. Going higher up, they discovered another small river falling into the west side of the main river, and at this point the company separated. A man by the name of Green camped at a canebrake, where J. McD. Carson now lives; and from this the stream was called Green's river—now Green river. At Green's camp, the company afterwards met; [we are to suppose after their term of hunting was over] and one of the party named John French, finding that they were near the heads of the streams, and that the waters must soon run the contrary direction, proposed to the company to cross the mountain and see what sort of country was there. The company declined the invitation, but told French that they would stay at or near that place so many days, and that he might go and return in that time. French took his traps and horses, crossed the mountain and discovered the river which now bears his name. Upon his return to the party which he had left, and relating his discoveries, the company after recounting the various streams which they had named, called the last, John French's Broad River. 'Thus,' says our venerable chronicler, 'ends the narrative of William Robbins.'

This narrative shows us how naturally and how simply the names of places are provided by the people. It also accounts for the awkwardness and vulgarity which distinguished so many of our common names. The Indians would have proceeded after a like fashion; but they would have shown, in their choice of names, a livelier imagination than marks our common people. For example, using equivalents in their own language, which would be much more sound-

ing than ours, they would have named the river in which lay the large horizontal rock—"the River of the Big Rock." The creek where the traps got entangled and the horse scared, would have also found a more expressive designation, and made the redmen more figurative. They would have styled it, in sounding gutturals, "The place where we got bedevilled"—the creek which was distinguished by the burning white oak, would be called "Falling Timber Creek,"—Second Broad, would be known as "Brudder to Big Rock River,"—Main Broad would have been the Father to Big Rock; French Broad, in all probability, would be named, as by the white, after the single discover, but his name would have been one of four syllables at least,—a sounding one, you may be sure. Otherwise it would have been some trysyllable or polysyllable, signifying "Beyond the Mountain;" or, the "River beheld by one;"—the distinguishing feature of the fact, that which is most startling and most imposing, being that, over all others, upon which the Indian genius would have been apt to seize, in selecting the title for his object. This narrative of William Robbins, we may add, skeleton like as it appears, furnishes an outline sufficiently satisfactory for the future romancer. One acquainted with all the details of a hunter's life, with its cares and excitements, and endowed with sufficient imagination, will inform this rude outline with flesh and blood,—introduce the Indians, show the peculiarities of the hunter and trapper, and frame a legend, the characteristics of which would not be materially unlike the 'Pioneers' of Mr. Cooper."

But, to return to our subject. We have no doubt that traders and adventurers had found their way across the mountains on foot even before Gov. Spotswood effected the great achievement on horse-back. They had looked from mountain peaks upon the broad plains of the Tennessee and the fertile vallies of the Cumberland. But they scarcely looked for lands, &c., or thought of settlements. They obeyed the roving nature of the hunter, the savage impulse which prompted wandering as itself a sufficient delight; and entertained projects of no better employment than the pursuit of bear, and elk and turkey. The traders of the Carolinas had

made their way to the waters of the Mississippi, in all probability long before the hunters passed the mountain barriers. Such would be the natural course. The route to the interior of the Mississippi valley would be more obvious to French and Spaniards who occupied the shores of the Gulph. Accordingly our author tells us that M. Charleville, a French trader from Crozat's colony at New-Orleans, planted a shop upon the west side of the Cumberland, near the present site of Nashville, in 1714. "About this period the Shawnees were expelled from the lower Cumberland, by the Cherokees and Chickasaws. The French, meanwhile, had planted their fortresses along the Tennessee, as well as in numerous places in the Mississippi valley ;—but disaster awaited them in Tennessee. The Chickasaws were hostile. The armies of the French failed to overcome them, and sunk under the climate. They disappeared, for the time, as they came ; and, in 1739, the territory of Tennessee was once more wholly in possession of the redmen. We have no evidence that a single white was to be found within its limits at that period.

Meanwhile, the British colonies had been slowly but steadily advancing. The boundary line between Virginia and North-Carolina had been drawn to the Holston. Roads were opened from Charleston, Savannah and Augusta, to all the nations of the redmen in the South. The settlements of Virginia were stretching to the Tennessee. Those of North Carolina had extended to the fine country between the Yadkin and Catawba. Fort Dobbs, near the Yadkin and twenty miles from Salisbury, was built in 1756. A white man's fort, in an Indian country, implies a farming settlement. The fort was garrisoned by a force of fifty men. Fort Prince George was raised at the sources of the Savannah, three hundred miles of Charleston, and commanded the Cherokee town of Keowee. Its garrison was designed to be usually one hundred men, and it was mounted with cannon. Fort Loudon was built the same year, upon the Tennessee, and within thirty miles of the present town of Knoxville ; and is the first structure of the Anglo-Americans, of any kind, known to have been raised in Tennessee. Long Island Fort was the second structure, of the same sort, built in Tennessee.

It was erected in 1758, on the north bank of the Holston; the spot being then supposed to lie within the boundaries of Virginia. In the spring of 1758 the garrison of Fort Loudon was increased to two hundred men, and it grew into a thriving village. All these forts became so many nuclei for settlements. In 1758 the British were forced to abandon the Ohio to the French. A war followed with the Cherokees, which greatly damaged the frontiers of Virginia and the Carolinas. Fort Loudon was yielded to the savages, and the garrison massacred. The Cherokees were scourged and humbled finally; and it was in this service that several of our most famous men of South-Carolina, Moultrie, Marion, Middleton, Pickens, Huger, &c., first distinguished themselves in arms.

The first regular settlers of Tennessee, according to our author, were Irish emigrants, who came mostly by one or the other of two avenues, Philadelphia and Charleston; but the acquisitions, thus made, were still too few and feeble, to give the white settlements either station or security. Tennessee was yet a wilderness. The country was known only through the vague reports of the redmen, or the uncertain and conflicting accounts of traders. But these latter continued to increase. They pressed in from Virginia and the Carolinas. They were followed by a class whom the redmen did not love to see. These were the hunters. As early as 1740, these restless and indomitable people attached themselves to the traders, and pursued them to all their haunts and places of traffic. Peace with the Cherokees, during this period, made these progresses comparatively safe. In 1761, a company of fifteen whites hunted for eighteen months on Clinch and Powell rivers; and, in the same year, at the head of another company of hunters, came the famous Daniel Boon. Our author thinks that there is good reason to believe that he had hunted upon Watauga before this period. There is an inscription still to be seen upon a beech tree, "standing in sight, and east of, the present stage road leading from Jonesboro' to Blountsville, and in the valley of Boon's Creek, a tributary of Watauga," which records, in rude characters, that "*D. Boon cilled (killed) a Bar*

(Bear) on *[this] tree in the year 1760.*" This date precedes the permanent settlement of the country about ten years. There were hundreds of Boone's to follow his lead. Society thus ever throws out its pioneers, who, obeying natural laws, find the limits of civilization too restraining for their free impulses. There was pride and ambition in these men, though they seemed to contemplate no conquests. Boon looking down from the Cumberland Mountains, and beholding the vast herds of Buffalo that grazed below, exclaimed to his companion, Callaway—"I am richer than the man mentioned in Scriptures, who owned the cattle on a thousand hills. I own the wild beasts of more than a thousand vallies." In different fields the same man might have led invading armies to the conquest of a thousand tribes. Henry Scaggins followed the footsteps of Boon and Callaway, exploring the country to the Lower Cumberland. Col. James Smith, with some companions from Pennsylvania in 1760, penetrated the country south of Kentucky and found no vestige of the white man. They, too, explored the waters of the Cumberland and Tennessee, and thence traversed the wilderness to Carolina. John Findley, of North-Carolina, another fearless hunter, who has left his traces as a pioneer throughout the great forests of the West, was succeeded by a swarm of hunters in different bodies—parties varying in number from single pairs to groups of ten, twenty, thirty and forty; and, in 1763, the avenues of the wilderness of Tennessee might be said to be fairly opened to the conqueror. A proclamation of George III., issued that year, was designed to protect the redmen and the Crown equally in the rights (query, of the latter,) to the desired territories; our author thinks this was meant in reality only to keep up appearances in the sight of the Indians and the civilized world; the redmen being already querulous, and the French suspicions vigilant and resentful. But the proclamation of the British King was a sound unheard, or unheeded by the pioneers. The whole power of the Crown could not have successfully pursued these daring adventurers. They pressed forward. They pitched their tents along the fertile vallies. The colonies themselves gave as little heed to it as the soli-

tary settlers; and Virginia patented considerable tracts upon the Ohio, far beyond the Apalachian mountains. The redmen meanwhile grew daily more and more angry and apprehensive, from the swarming bodies of the intruders. In 1768, on the application of the Cherokees, an appropriation was made by the province of North-Carolina, for the running of a dividing line between the western settlements of that colony and the hunting grounds of that people. Here occurred a question. To whom did these hunting lands belong? They were not in the actual occupancy of any of the tribes of the redmen. They were claimed by several as their open ranges, or hunting grounds. That the true proprietors were the Cherokees on the East, and the Chickasaws and Choctaws on the West, we have no question. Our author refers to the claim of the Iroquois or Six Nations. We have had occasion, in other places, to speak of the sort of claim of universal dominion set up for these people, by some of our historians, who seem to have taken for granted all their assertions. They were terrible braggers, and were perpetually boasting of conquests over territories, where, unless by stealth, and in small parties, they never dared to set foot. They had absorbed the Shawnees and incorporated them and the Tuscaroras; but not until these tribes had been previously conquered by the Southern nations and driven for shelter to the North. The Cherokee, the Chickasaw, the Muscoghee, the Catawba and Choctaw, laughed to scorn all these claims of the Iroquois, to universal dominion. They too had their claims, and when the opposing powers encountered, they claimed the victory quite as frequently as did the Iroquois. They seldom met but in small parties; in sudden skirmishes, and at their hunting grounds. The surprise or destruction by ambush, of half a dozen hunters of either party, was an event of vast importance which they duly glorified. When treating with the whites for land, they readily sold the possessions of their neighbours; lands which they never saw, of the extent of which they had no notion; and were, no doubt, quite willing that the French or English should possess regions which they themselves never undertook to hold. It was not the policy of the whites to doubt

the titles under which they claimed, and which yielded them magnificent bargains. They naturally insisted upon the rights under which they bought, and this is the whole history. There is no sufficient evidence to show that the Northern Indians ever held for a moment south of the Potomac, and as little to establish the claims of the Southern tribes to foothold north of it. Small parties, no doubt, met on one side or the other, and one or the other triumphed, according to their numbers, or because of a surprise over an unsuspecting and careless adversary. It is very improbable that any of these encounters found more than twenty men on a side. The great talks which we have had in regard to these confederacies of the redmen, and their wonderful powers are mostly extravagancies. They confederated frequently and capriciously; one season finding them associated with the very tribes with which they were confronted the year before, and *vice versa*. When our author tells us that Tennessee, at the time of its first exploration by hunters and traders of French or Anglo-American stock, "was a vast and almost unoccupied wilderness, a solitude over which an Indian hunter seldom roamed, and to which no tribe put in a distinct and well defined claim," he virtually precludes himself from giving an account of the several contiguous nations of the redmen. The pages, accordingly, which follow, given to the Shawnees, Chickasaws, Uchees, Muscoghees, Cherokees, &c., might have been dispensed with. For the matter which they contain, the reader might have been referred to the thousand authorities containing the necessary information. It would have been quite sufficient to show that they were the nearest neighbours to the territory, and occasionally entered upon it for the purposes of the chase. The section given to the aboriginal names of rivers in Tennessee is more legitimate matter. One thing may be said in this respect. We are not to be surprised to find several Indian names given to the same place, rock, river or forest. Each tribe enforced its own name, or gave a name to the spot upon which it rested, or over which it roved in its wanderings. In this way we account for the various discrepancies of travellers and explorers. There need be

no dispute among them. The French Broad, says our author, was called the Agiqua. Other accounts call it the Tselica, or Pselica. No doubt it bore other names at different periods. The Nollichucky, he says was called the Nonnachunheh; the Clinch was anciently the Pellissippi. Touching the "barbarous Clinch," as our author calls it, he probably never heard the origin. In the article already quoted, which we published some years ago, entitled "the naming of places in the Carolinas," &c., the account occurs, taken from the lips of Ben Mattock. He says—"William Waller, another hunter, having made a raft to cross that river, one of the party fell from the raft and was in danger of being drowned. In his terror, he cried to his companions, as he came up, 'Clinch me,—clinch me!' Hence, Clinch became the name of the river."

The same narrative contains the key to other English names, and gives a meaning to some of those of the redmen. Tuckasidgee was "Upland Terrapin"—"Catalogochy"—"something in the bottle." The Swanannoa received its name from that of an Indian in exile, who took refuge there. "Nantihala"—signifies "middle between"—in other words, is the dividing line. "Highwassee," means fortress or place of defence. "Tusquattie signifies 'a bend,' and this creek was thus called, from its falling into the Highwassee, just below a remarkable bend in the latter river. 'Chunky Girl Mountain' lies between Nantihala and the heads of Tusquattie, Shooting Creek, Bill Creek, and Hightower Creek; and receives its name in compliment to a very fleshy and chunky squaw, the daughter of Culsowee, who dwelt at the foot of the mountain, and at the head of Shooting Creek.

Steccoe' was a town on the Tuckasidgee, and meant 'little fat.' The 'Chestatee' river of Georgia, was so named from the waters falling over a rock. 'Jocassee' signified a field. 'Checoe,' falling into the Tennessee, below Nantihala, is 'Otter' river. 'Tuscaga' means bushy-head. The French Broad, from the Long Shoals to the head, was called by the Indians 'Cheu' or Canal river, as not easily fordable, but navigable along this space. Below the Long Shoals and down to Holstein, it was called 'Tokeaskeh,' or Running

river. The Indian name of Pidgeon river was Wayah, or Wolf river. Nolichucky is from Nolichuckquah, 'a spruce pine.' Catugajay is 'bread made with the milk of roasting ears of corn.' Elejay is 'new.' The Indian name of 'Toe' river is Calitah, 'of no value.' Terrora, or Tellulah, a river of Georgia, is 'a 'possum.' Coweta is 'taking away.' Holstein was Oointewasteh, or 'Swimming River.' Cumberland was Equoneh, or the 'steep banks.' Peach-tree Creek was Culsateh. Estatoe, a branch of the Saviny, is 'poor beaver.'"

But we must no longer digress. We follow our author to the settlement and government of Watauga, to which he devotes a long and pleasantly written chapter. Watauga was the first germ of the now populous and prosperous State of Tennessee. The settlements on the Holston formed the nucleus of the first establishment of the white race within the territory. This region was then supposed to be a portion of Virginia, the dividing line between that State and North-Carolina, not having been yet run west of Steep Rock. The settlers mostly came from North-Carolina. Some of them had constituted the garrison of Fort Loudon; others of the Long Island Fort. To these came additions from other quarters, and farther explorations soon established other abodes for civilization. "A station" was made at Boon's Creek, a tributary of the Watauga. The Cumberland yielded abiding places for the pioneer. The territory between the Ohio and Tennessee, gradually became dotted with settlements. Some Frenchmen planted their cabins near Nashville; others of the same race fixed themselves above the mouth of the Tennessee. In 1769, a large company of adventurers was formed for hunting and exploring Middle Tennessee. They scattered themselves about the country, saw and suffered much from hard skirmishes with the Indians, and some remained in the country. The reports of Boon and Findley, in North-Carolina, stimulated the enterprise of forty daring fellows who went out in 1770, penetrating to the Lower Cumberland, who from their protracted wanderings, were proverbially known as the "Long Hunters." Virginia, North and South-Carolina gradually thus contri-

buted to the settlements of Watauga. The discontents occasioned by the approaching struggle of the colonies with the mother country, by dividing the people, in these provinces, helped the new secluded forest settlements with frequent additions. The treaty of Lochabar in 1770, established a new boundary farther west, extinguishing the Cherokee title, in the region granted, and thus still more contributing to its settlement. Bounties of land stimulated emigration. In this year Boon brought out a colony from North-Carolina to Watauga. James Robertson followed. East and West Tennessee were both growing, receiving constant additions from the maternal States already mentioned. In 1792, the people of Watauga formed themselves into an association for government and mutual safety. The articles of association have not been preserved; but they are understood to have been simple and sufficient, and somewhat patriarchal. Some of the Commissioners appointed to administer their affairs, subsequently distinguished themselves in the Revolution. Our author gives us brief notices of a few of them. Col. John Carter was a Virginian. He was the Executive of the new settlement. His administration was judicious and popular. Charles Robertson was a South-Carolinian. It was to him that the Cherokees made the conveyance of the lands occupied by the settlers. He too was distinguished by his manly virtues, his great good sense and wisdom. John Sevier is one of our remarkable men of the Revolution, from the interior. He was a Virginian of French descent. In 1772, the Cherokees leased to the settlers for eight years all the country along the waters of the Watauga. Hitherto, the settlements had been chiefly confined to the Upper Holston and the Watauga. In this year a few families from North-Carolina settled on the Nollichucky, or Nonnachunneh. About the same time, there sprang up a settlement in Carter's valley, north of the Holston, then believed to be in Virginia. In the fall of 1773, Boon made an attempt to take his family to Kentucky. Other families joined him, with forty hunters, making a caravan of eighty persons. They were encountered by the redmen, lost a few men, and though they drove off the enemy, were compelled to fall back to the

nearest settlement. The year 1774, was marked in blood by the war with the Shawnees, in which the Tennesseans, as Virginians, took part. One of the Robertsons, and Valentine Sevier, fought in the fierce conflict at Kenhawa, in which the whites were commanded by Gen. Andrew Lewis. This battle is admitted to have been one of the most sanguinary and well contested in the annals of Indian warfare in the west. The contribution of Tennessee to the army of the whites consisted of a company commanded by Evan Shelby. Isaac Shelby, his son, afterwards so famous, was his Lieutenant.

In a treaty with the Shawnees, in 1775, they relinquished all *their* claim to lands south of the Ohio. Our author here recognizes the force of the suggestion, which we have already made, of the extravagance of their assumptions usually in respect to territory. The Cherokees and other Southern nations claimed the same lands. A subsequent treaty with the Cherokees was required to persuade them to cede their interests in the territory lying between the Kentucky and Cumberland rivers. The region thus obtained was called Transylvania. The parties to the purchase, for it was a transaction of individual colonists, proposed to establish it as a separate colony, and applied, in 1775, to the Continental Congress, for its recognition among the united colonies. The Watauga Association, meanwhile, having held their territories by lease from the Cherokees, now obtained them in fee from the new proprietors. The titles were conveyed to Charles Robertson, as Trustee. Jacob Brown, in the same manner, procured a title to the settlements made on Nonnachunheb, and so in respect to other settlements within the same province. The details, with the names of parties concerned, in these transactions, are given fully by our author, and contribute greatly to the value of his work as a local chronicle and authority.

This period brings us to the eventful moment when the curtain was to rise on the great drama of the Revolution. It was, perhaps, unavoidable that our author should narrate its antecedents in the career of other colonies. That of Watauga, though not then named among the sisterhood, was

necessarily involved in their fortunes. But the same necessity does not exist for us, and we shall regard these details only during the progress of the war, in which the people of the newly colonized territory immediately anticipated. The infant settlements, west of the Mountains, do not seem to have been represented in the action of North-Carolina or Virginia. Communication was not easy between them, and their resources, perhaps, were only imperfectly known. They were thus, in some degree, undervalued. They still lived, in Watauga, under the simple government which they had established for themselves, under five commissioners, who adopted the laws of Virginia as their standards. But, in 1776, they applied to be annexed to North-Carolina. Their petition is still extant and given at length, with all the signatures, by our chronicler. They declare themselves friendly to the action of the Continental Congress, and willing to abide its fortunes against the Crown. Of the action taken by North-Carolina, on this petition, there is no record. Nothing is known. But it is known that they did send their delegates to the Provincial Congress at Halifax, and it is curious to note that they sent them as delegates from Washington District, Watauga settlement; being the first time that the name of Washington was ever used in this country, honourably applied to place, and showing, on the part of this people, a prophetic instinct of his future greatness, or a shrewd insight into his claims, which they had probably learned by intercourse with him in the Indian and French wars on the Ohio. The District of Washington, represented in the Provincial Congress of North-Carolina, implies the annexation of Watauga to the older colony. The first delegates from this region, were Charles Robertson, John Carter, John Huile, and John Sevier.

When the British subsidized the redmen against the frontiers of the Carolinas, the Wataugans naturally shared the sufferings of their people in the Atlantic provinces. Watauga prepared her hunters for war, and built her little picketted enclosures and block-houses, called forts or stations. These were constructed conveniently to the several scattered settlements. They were soon put in requisition. The savages,

Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws and Choctaws were not likely to reject British rum, blankets, knives and weapons when it was required of them only to furnish scalps in return, and they gathered about the settlements all along the borders, as the wolves about the victim. But forewarned, forearmed. The Wataugans were ready and vigilant. The redmen, four hundred in number, were soon on their way to Heaton's station. They were encountered by the whites, one hundred and seventy in number, near the Island Flats, and were beaten severely, losing some forty warriors in ten minutes, under the unerring rifle. The leaders of the Wataugans, in this handsome affair, were James Thompson, James Shelby, William Buchanan, John Campbell, William Cocke, and Thomas Madison. Our chronicler gives us some lively anecdotes, exhibiting instances of particular prowess, in hand-to-hand conflict, which took place in the action. Here, Isaac Shelby, still a lieutenant only, showed the native resources of a great leader. The fight served to cool the Cherokee blood in some degree, and to save some of the scattered settlers of the frontier. Another party of the same people, attempting another settlement, was discomfited in like manner. The fort at Watauga was beleaguered six days, frequently under constant fire. But the savages were compelled to abandon the attempt. A third party descended upon the Holston settlement, but equally failed against the stations. A fourth was more successful in its attempts upon the Clinch settlements, and carried fire and the murderous tomahawk all along the devoted regions. But we cannot pursue these details. They will be found in the pages of our author, well narrated, and always full of interest. The period of these transactions was one marked along the seaboard by the maritime efforts of the British against the Atlantic colonies. The design was to move by concert against both extremes of the several colonies, at the same time. Thus, while South Carolina was defending her frontier against the Cherokees, as the Wataugans had done, with one hand, the other was opposed to Sir Peter Parker and his fleet. The artillery of Sullivan's Island was echoed along the heights of Apalachia by the sharp crack, in all sections, of the western rifle. Wil-

liamson, of South-Carolina, and Rutherford, of North-Carolina, were both engaged in carrying the attack into the enemies country—in other words, scourging, with flame and shot, the “*over-hill*,” or beyond the mountain settlements. These achievements may be read in the several histories of these States. Virginia took up the cudgels at the same time, and under the blows of the three provinces, the Cherokees humbled themselves, a large portion of them at least; the result of which was a new treaty and new cessions of lands, by all of which events the Watauga settlement was ultimately the gainer. But its individuality was now to be lost. In 1777 the laws of North-Carolina were extended over it, and it became the district of Washington in that State.

As such, it participated more directly in the events of the Revolution; but there was an interval of repose accorded to the South for the present; the successes of the patriots, in the mountains and along the sea-board, saving them from farther invasion till 1779. In the summer of 1778, Henry Reynolds and Thomas Morgan discovered the warm springs on the French Broad, one of the most health-giving and salubrious watering places of the South, situated in a mountain region, of remarkable variety and beauty. The mountaineers were in the enjoyment of a respite, which permitted them to look about them, and seek out the retreats of beauty. They were premature, however, in laying down their arms. The country was beginning to be troubled with a very bad population. The tories, degenerating into horse-thieves and robbers, or herding with them, were becoming formidable. Committees of safety became necessary for succoring the slow processes of the law, with summary contrivances. The operations of these committees furnish our author with many interesting chronicles, which we cannot repeat. But the artist in fiction will do well to look into these pages for some of his raw materiel. Traditions of the redman and the borderer, identified with places, will reward his curiosity, and stimulate his genius. We must confine ourselves to those events only which concern the progress of the community as a whole.

In 1779 the frontier men of North-Carolina and Virginia

were compelled to resume their arms, and go forth against a formidable body of Indians, consisting of scattered tribes and refugees from others, with (no doubt) lawless white men among them. The Chickanauga towns had become the central haunts for this banditti, which was reported to embody more than a thousand warriors. It was resolved to destroy these towns. Col. Isaac Shelby was assigned the command of the expedition for this purpose, which was to consist of one thousand volunteers, and a regiment of "twelve months men." The Indians were surprised and dispersed, with the loss of forty warriors. Their towns were destroyed, their fields and granaries. Their flocks of cattle, which were large, were driven away, the spoils of the conquerors. There were other Indian experiences of like sort about this time, but they were not of a kind to affect the prosperity of the white settlements. Population continued to increase. Country towns were established, new settlements laid out; courts were erected, sheriffs elected, churches were built. The word of God was spoken aloud, though, perhaps, by feeble voices, on the banks of Indian rivers, and amongst the debris of heathen settlements. Our annalist suffers few of these details to escape him, and it is surprising with how vast a collection of original documentary matter he enriches his chronicles.

In 1779, and when Georgia had fallen into the power of the British, the wild frontier region of Watauga began to be a place of refuge for the more noxious among the fugitive patriots. Col. Clarke, of Georgia, with about a hundred followers, was the first to appear in this region. His narrative of British and Tory brutalities aroused the hardy hunters of the frontier, and he soon recruited his little squadron from the ranks of the sturdy foresters. They did good service. Other parties pressed into the field of action in South-Carolino and Georgia. The most distinguished of their leaders were Shelby and Sevier. They captured Col. Moore, in his fortress on the Pacolet; and collecting together from various quarters, joined by bodies of men under Cols. Williams, of South-Carolina, Col. Clarke, of Georgia, and others, they engaged in the sharp fight of Cedar springs. This was suc-

ceeded by other sharp skirmishes, on the Enoree and elsewhere. The defeat of Gates, at Camden, caused their temporary dispersion. They retreated to the mountains; to reappear again in force, and when Sumter, Marion, Pickens, and the cloud of partisans who rose up in South and North Carolina and Georgia, and made all their forests famous, were prepared to emerge from their several hiding places. The next enemy whom our mountaineers encountered was Patrick Ferguson. The great event before them was the capture of this formidable partisan. We could wish to copy the detailed preparations for this purpose, as given by our author more fully than any other historian. But our space will not allow. We must sum up together the most important facts bearing upon the battle of King's mountain; which we propose to detach as in itself highly attractive, as being drawn from the best sources, some of which are original, and as showing the best style and manner of our author. The army, which was yielded to the command of Col. Campbell, of Virginia, consisted almost wholly of riflemen. Campbell brought eleven hundred men from Virginia, Sevier two hundred and forty from Washington county, (Watauga,) Shelby two hundred and forty from Sullivan, and there was a body, number not given, of refugee whigs from South-Carolina and Georgia. To these were added, subsequently, Cleveland and Col. Winston, from Wilkes and Surrey counties, North-Carolina, with three hundred to four hundred men; and Col. James Williams, with four hundred South-Carolinians. An express of Ferguson was captured, by which they learned that he was encamped but a mile distant, on the eminence where he was defeated and slain, which he boasted was impregnable, and to which *he* gave the name of King's mountain. The whigs approached, reconnoitered, dismounted, fastened their horses below, and prepared for the attack. We will suffer our author himself to relate the event which followed:

"The right wing or column was led by Winston and Sevier, the left by Cleveland and Williams; the centre was composed of Campbell's men on the right, and Shelby's on the left. In this order each officer

having formed his ranks, led off at the same time to the position assigned him, under pilots selected from Col. Williams's men, who were familiar with the ground. On its march around the mountain, the right column discovered that there were two gaps in the ridge at the enemy's left flank—one about twenty poles from it, the other fifty. It was decided to pass through the latter. About the time they entered it, the enemy began to fire upon them. The fire at first did not attract attention, until some of Shelby's men being wounded, that officer and McDowell determined to return the fire, and before they had crossed the ridge, broke off towards the enemy, through the gap nearest to his camp, and discharged their rifles with great effect. The rest of the column under Campbell ascended the mountain, and poured in a deadly fire upon the enemy posted upon its summit. The firing became so heavy as to attract the attention of Ferguson, who immediately brought up a part of his regulars from the other end of his line, and a brisk charge was made upon the American right by the British regulars and some of the tories. This charge pushed McDowell, Shelby and Campbell, down the mountain. At this moment, the left column under Hambright, Chronicle, Cleveland and Williams, had driven in the enemy's picquets at the other extremity of the encampment, and advancing up the mountain, poured in a well directed fire on the enemy protected here by their wagons and some slight defences, and commanded by Ferguson himself. Dupoister, his second in command, was immediately recalled, ordered into line on the top of the ridge, and directed to make a charge with all the regulars upon the Americans at that end of the encampment. On his passage to the relief of Ferguson, Dupoister received a galling fire from the South-Carolinians under Williams. The regulars were soon rallied, made a desperate charge, and drove the riflemen to the foot of the hill. Here Major Chronicle fell.

"In the meantime, the recall of Dupoister from the charge at the other extremity of the mountain, gave the appearance there of a retreat on the part of the enemy, and the men under Shelby, McDowell and Campbell, having recovered from the slight disorganization produced by the first charge, rallied to the pursuit. The cry was raised—"huzza, boys, they are retreating; come on!" They advanced with great firmness up the hill, almost to the lines of the encampment, and for some time maintained a deadly conflict with the tory riflemen. Ferguson, as before, decided to resort again to the bayonet. But the marksmen had so thinned the ranks of the regulars, that the expedient was adopted of trimming the handles of the butcher knives, and adapting them to the muzzles of the tory rifles, and of thus using them in the charge. With

the number of his bayonets thus enlarged, Dupoister returned to his first position, and made another charge. It was short and feebly executed, and the regulars returned within their lines.

"About this time the front of the two American columns had met, and the army of Ferguson was surrounded by the riflemen. Their firing became incessant and general in all quarters, but especially at the two ends of the enemy's line. Sevier pressed against its centre, and was charged upon by the regulars. The conflict here became stubborn, and drew to it much of the enemy's force. This enabled Shelby and Campbell to reach and hold the crest of the mountain.

"On all sides, now, the fire was brisk and deadly, and the charges with the bayonet, though less vigorous, were frequent. In all cases where the enemy charged the Americans on one side of the hill, those on the other thought he was retreating, and advanced near to the summit. But in all these movements, the left of Ferguson's line was gradually receding, and the Americans were plying their rifles with terrible effect. Ferguson was still in the heat of battle; with characteristic coolness and daring, he ordered Captain Dupoister to reinforce a position about one hundred yards distant, with his regulars; but before they reached it, they were thinned too much by the American rifles, to render any effectual support. He then ordered his cavalry to mount, with a view of making a desperate onset at their head. But these only presented a better mark for the rifle, and fell as fast as they could mount their horses. He rode from one end of his line to the other, encouraging his men to prolong the conflict. With desperate courage, he passed from one exposed point to another of equal danger. He carried in his wounded hand, a shrill sounding silver whistle, whose signal was universally known through the ranks, was of immense service throughout the battle, and gave a kind of ubiquity to his movements.*

"But the Americans having reached the top of the mountain, were gradually compressing the enemy, and the line of Ferguson's encampment was sensibly contracted. A flag was raised by the Tories in token of surrender. Ferguson rode up to it, and pulled it down. A second flag was raised at the other end of the line. He rode there too, and cut it down with his sword. He was frequently admonished by Dupoister to surrender; but his proud spirit could not deign to give up to raw and undisciplined militia. When the second flag was cut down, Dupoister renewed his admonition. To this he replied by declaring,

* Foster.

he would never surrender to such a damned set of banditti as the mountain men. These men, while they admired the unyielding spirit of Ferguson, had noticed, that whenever his voice or whistle was heard, the enemy were inspirited to another rally. They believed that while he survived, his desperate courage would not permit a surrender. He fell soon after, and immediately expired.

"The forward movement of all the American columns brought them to a level with the enemy's guns, which heretofore, in most instances, had overshot their heads. The horizontal fire of the regulars was now considerably fatal; but the rapid advance of the riflemen soon surrounded both them and the Tories, who being crowded close together, and cooped up into a narrow space by the surrounding pressure of the American troops, and fatally galled by their incessant fire, lost all hope from further resistance. Dupoirter, who succeeded Ferguson in command, perceiving that farther struggle was in vain, raised the white flag, and exclaimed for quarters. A general cessation of the American fire followed; but this cessation was not complete. Some of the young men did not understand the meaning of a white flag; others who did, knew that other flags had been raised before, and were quickly taken down. Shelby halloed out to them to throw down their guns, as all would understand that as a surrender. This was immediately done. The arms were now lying in front of the prisoners, without any orders how to dispose of them. Col. Shelby, seeing the facility with which the enemy could resume their guns, exclaimed: 'Good God! what can we do in this confusion?' 'We can order the prisoners from their arms,' said Sawyers. 'Yes,' said Shelby, 'that can be done.' The prisoners were accordingly marched to another place, and there surrounded by a double guard.

"The battle of King's Mountain lasted an hour. The loss of the enemy was two hundred and twenty five killed, and one hundred and eighty wounded, seven hundred prisoners, fifteen hundred stand of arms, and a great many horses and wagons loaded with supplies, and booty of every kind, taken by the plundering Tories from the wealthy whigs. * * * * *

"The loss of the Americans was thirty killed, and about twice that number wounded. Of the former, was Col. Williams of South-Carolina. He fell a victim to the true Palmetto spirit, and intemperate eagerness for battle. Towards the close of the engagement, he espied Ferguson riding near the line, and dashed towards him with the gallant determination of a personal encounter. 'I will kill Ferguson, or die in the attempt!' exclaimed Williams, and spurring his horse in the direction

of the enemy, received a bullet as he crossed their line. He survived till he heard that his antagonist was killed, and his camp surrendered; and amidst the shouts of victory by his triumphant countrymen, said: 'I die contented,' and with a smile upon his countenance expired."

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We cannot pursue the events of the revolutionary war, which will more properly be read in other histories. Enough that our mountain men of Tennessee, served well and valiantly. Towards the close of the war, Shelby and Sevier were joined to the forces under Marion, and served honourably in the low country of South-Carolina.

In 1780, returning from the battle of King's Mountain, Col. Sevier was required to penetrate the Cherokee territories and scourge those treacherous savages. He did so effectually, in several engagements, more especially that of Boyd's Creek, which is held to be one of the best fought battles in the border warfare of Tennessee. A hollow peace followed, to be broken by the Cherokees in 1781. Sevier again marched against and defeated them. It was after this that he joined the ranks of Marion. The year 1782, found the Cherokees again in need of the lash. They again received it; but this sort of warfare, from the nature of the savages, was destined to continue, more or less actively, so long as the opposing races lived in such near proximity. But it did not discourage emigration to the fertile region which it troubled. Population continued to pour in, and the natural consequence of increasing numbers and growing towns, was increasing confidence in their own resources, and the desire for a more perfect state of civil independence. The western counties complained that they were in a state of political vassalage to the eastern, and this led to the unanimous declaration by a Convention, composed of delegates from the Counties of Washington, Sullivan and Greene, of their independence of and severance from the State of North-Carolina. These counties were then created into a separate establishment called the State of Franklin, held Sessions of Assembly, made a Governor (Sevier,) and passed whatever laws seemed to them necessary. The recognized currency of the new stock was *mink skins*, an enactment over which

their neighbours made exceedingly merry. The Governor of North-Carolina, denounced the proceedings of the new State in a proclamation, to which Governor Sevier replied. North-Carolina was not willing to yield her authority over her western counties, and the Franklins were not to be persuaded to yield. Their affairs became mischievously complicated. A temporary compromise, however, was effected between the parties, but did not long avail for quiet. But

the State of Franklin finally died out, (not before the parties had got to blows,) and we do not care to ask why. Its decay was the result of some organic, and, therefore, vital deficiency. But its temporary existence had proved one thing, that the government of North-Carolina was inadequate to the objects, and, perhaps, necessities of the people.

Our annalist, after discussing the question of policy and propriety at length, in regard to the proceedings of the Franklinites, and giving in full all the events which took place within the limits of their country during the existence of the little republic, proceeds to a survey of the settlements contemporaneously made throughout the territories of Tennessee. These had been growing in like manner with those which have so much engaged our attention. They had their Indian skirmishes and enforced themselves; their forts formed the nuclei for settlements, and they grew almost without the consciousness, certainly without the care, of the more settled colonies, from which, however, they constantly received accessions. A large proportion of our author's pages are assigned necessarily to the struggles of the settlers with the redmen, the ambuscades, the leaguers, the midnight surprises, and all the horrors natural to Indian warfare. To follow him in our pages, would be to absorb all our space. The reader must conceive the history for himself. It is one with which all our histories have made us more or less familiar. Enough to state that each successive year, in the progress of the settlements within the territories of the infant State, brought its own tidings of strife and massacre. But the population continued to increase. The settlements multiplied. The several stations and colonies began gradually to take shape as civil communities. The Cumberland

settlements soon took form like those of Watauga, and bounties of land for public services brought in a strong self-reliant body of settlers. In 1783, the Chickasaws who claimed ceded the lands on the Cumberland. In the same year was laid off the county of Davidson, called after the North-Carolina General of that name, of whom our author gives a biographical sketch. Nashville was established in 1784, and so named in compliment to Col. Francis Nash, also of North-Carolina. Courts of law and equity were held in this place in 1786. Roads were now opened connecting the various settlements. Sumner county was established. In 1787 the delegates from the Western district appealed to the Legislature of North-Carolina for relief from the harrassing struggle which they had been compelled, almost single-handed, to maintain with the savages; but we do not see that the result corresponded with the prayer. In fact, the geographical relations of the new districts, to the old State, were such as to render help from the latter an affair of difficulty always. The policy of both seemed, from the first, to indicate their separation; and the instincts of those who originated the Republic of Franklin, were right in the main, though probably premature in the period when they attempted to sunder the old ties of place and section. But events ripened fast enough. It did not require many years to teach North-Carolina that her western counties were a burden only. Her pride had revolted at the seceding of the Franklins; but in such cases pride is one of the worst counsellors, and the coercion of an unwilling people, occupying such relations, is a policy which no wise statesman can possibly approve. A people may become good allies who would be very troublesome as subjects. In 1789, accordingly, the Legislature passed an act by which they ceded to the United States of America certain Western lands. The deed of cession, in compliance with this act, was made and accepted early in 1790. The territory of Tennessee was thenceforward segregated from that of the Old North State. It remained in wardship of the United States government for nearly six years. Its progress—disturbed only by the usual Indian warfare, and those difficulties arising from the pos-

sessions of Spain on the lower Mississippi, which affected all the West during the period from 1790 to 1796—was rapid and unbroken. It continued to fill with people, and to prosper, and, in 1796, having the requisite population, it was admitted into the Federal Union as the State of Tennessee.

Our annalist has given us a very useful and interesting volume; containing a great deal of instructive and valuable material, narratives of surprising interest, contributions of Western incident and biography, which are scarcely to be found elsewhere, and details of a frontier progress, which will be found full, copious, carefully weighed and estimated, amply certified, and such as will illustrate the progress of all our infant settlements upon the borders, showing how they grew, passing from the feeblest colonies into powerful and noble States. We have passed over large tracts of history in these pages, giving to them a passing reference only. We have had to forbear many topics, which invited and seemed to justify discussion; contenting ourselves with simply an outline sketch of the birth of the colony, and its growth into a republic. We must leave the reader to pursue the history in the pages of our author. To conduct him to them has been our main object. Dr. Ramsey has done his work faithfully, with good sense, talent, a rare industry, and with that sort of spirit which shows that the labour has been one of love purely. His style is good, clear, simple, effective, and if ambitious at any time, so modestly so, that the coldest critic will scarcely find in it any just cause of offence. We trust that he will continue his annals, as he seems to promise, to another volume, *not* omitting the original documents of which he appears to have such large possessions. These are daily growing in interest, and the time is approaching fast when such chronicles will rise to almost inappreciable value. Let us, by all means, secure the simple manuscript narratives of our pioneer ancestry, and put them in indestructible type; for, in their courage, hardihood, perseverance, and noble simplicity, we see the true virtues which should teach, and which can alone preserve the race.

ART. III.—BRITISH AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.

1. *American Slavery and Emancipation by the Free States.* Westminster Review, for January, 1853. Art. V.
2. *Abstract of the Seventh Census.* By J. C. G. KENNEDY. Washington: 1851.
3. *Past and Present.* By THOMAS CARLYLE. Third edition. New-York: Burgess, Stringer & Co. 1844.
4. *Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question.* Frazer's Magazine. London: 1850.

LITTLE more than two hundred years have passed since the first serious attempts were made to settle the American continent, and during that period the most astonishing progress has everywhere been exhibited in population and wealth, in arts and arms, in individual enterprize and political science; and, in short, in every thing that constitutes an advanced degree of civilization. While this progress has been great everywhere upon the continent, it has not been equally great in all portions of it. Spanish-American civilization has by no means kept pace with Anglo-American. Whether the difference may be the result of a sort of sterility, which seems to attend the institutions of Spain everywhere, it is not our present object to inquire; but, with regard to ourselves, it seems to be worth considering what may be the influence of English civilization upon that portion of the American continent, which derived its language, its laws, its literature, its manners, customs and habits of thought from a state of society, where these elements of progress had been already perfected, and formed for immediate use. As a nation, it can scarcely be affirmed that we have had any infancy. Other nations have advanced from barbarism, impotence and ignorance—groping about in darkness for social, political and religious institutions, wherewith to govern themselves—making unsuccessful experiments in forms of government unsuited to their wants, and changing them after direful convulsions—forming their language from their necessities, their struggles and their sufferings—acquiring arts and science for the uses of life, and building up a

literature that their labours and acquisitions might not be lost.

But the British colonies, on the American continent, brought with them a civilization ready made to their hands, without working for it. They had but to disperse the weak and wandering savage found in possession of the soil, and overcome the obstacles opposed by an uncleared forest, and they were ready to commence, with equal step, in the march of progress, with those nations who had become indurated by a struggle of a thousand years, or, it may be, who had expended their energy in toiling from infancy to manhood. In making this inquiry, we have nothing to guide us in the history of the past. In every anterior civilization, (if we except the occupation of the land of Canaan by the Israelites—where the government was theocratic, and where the invaders carried with them their peculiar religious institutions, their language and their laws)—the original inhabitants constituted an important element in the new society, and the colonists only modified the institutions which they found existing at the time of the invasion.

There is nothing analogous in all history, to the colonization of the American continent. The nearest approximation to it is afforded by the effort of Constantine, to transfer the seat of empire to the banks of the Propontis, and to build up a great city on the site of ancient Byzantium. Selecting a spot on the confines of Europe and Asia, in the centre of the vast dominions of the Roman Empire, aided by all the resources of boundless wealth and unlimited power, the city of Constantinople arose, under his hands, as if by magic, with its palaces, churches, schools of learning, theatres, baths and private edifices, and soon was filled with an overflowing population, instructed in all the mechanical and liberal arts; versed in all the science and learning of the time; and the new city was soon prepared to receive the commerce of the world into its bosom. The buildings were executed, says Gibbon, by such artificers as the reign of Constantine could afford; and they were decorated by the hands of the most celebrated masters of the age of Pericles and Alexander; but, continues the same historian, to “revive the ge-

nius of Phidias and Lysippus, surpassed indeed the power of a Roman emperor. The trophies of memorable wars, the objects of religious veneration, the most finished statues of the gods and heroes, of the sages and poets of ancient times, contributed to the splendid triumph of Constantinople; and gave occasion to the remark of the historian Cedrenus, that nothing seemed wanting except the souls of the illustrious men whom those admirable monuments were intended to represent." That city, with a vitality, which seems to belong to every thing that the Roman has made, still exists after a lapse of fifteen centuries, but, from its foundation to the present hour, it has ever wanted the vivacity, action and force of a spontaneous creation, and it seems to have owed its long existence to a power similar to that which reared it, and its safety to the weakness or forbearance of its enemies.

Sir Walter Scott, in the opening of one of his admirable novels,* thus accounts for the elements of weakness, and the symptoms of premature decay, which were exhibited almost from the foundation of the city of Constantinople.

"The close observers of vegetable nature have remarked, that when a new graft is taken from an aged tree, it possesses indeed, in exterior form, the appearance of a youthful shoot, but has, in fact, attained to the same state of maturity, or even decay, which has been reached by the parent stem. In the same manner, efforts have been made by the mighty of the earth, to transplant large cities, states and communities, by one great and sudden exertion, expecting to secure to the new capital the wealth, the dignity, the magnificent decorations and unlimited extent of the ancient city, which they desire to renovate; while, at the same time, they hope to begin a new succession of ages from the date of the new structure, to last, they imagine, as long and with as much fame as its predecessor, which the founder hopes his new metropolis may replace in all its youthful glories. But nature has her laws, which seem to apply to the social as well as to the vegetable system. It appears to be a general rule, that what is to last long should be slowly matured and gradually improved, while every sudden effort, however gigantic, to bring about the speedy execution of a plan calculated to endure for ages, is doomed to exhibit symptoms of premature decay from its very commencement." * * * "Constantinople, therefore,

* Count Robert, of Paris.

when in 324 it first arose in imperial majesty, out of the humble Byzantium, showed, even in its birth, and amid its adventitious splendour, some intimations of that speedy decay to which the whole civilized world, then limited within the Roman Empire, was internally and imperceptibly tending. Nor was it many ages, ere these prognostications of declension were fully verified."

If then, as a nation, we have had no infancy, may we therefore look forward to an immature manhood and an early decline, or rejecting the comparison from vegetable nature, may we not rather borrow a simile from Grecian mythology, and compare ourselves to that warrior goddess, in whom wisdom and power were harmoniously blended, who sprang forth in full armour from the brain of the father of the gods, prepared for the struggle and the duties of life.

Passing from such speculations into our brief history, which we have no means of solving, let us inquire whether the institutions and form of government, which we have adopted, are likely to be permanent, and if there be not some dangers which threaten us in the future, and upon which our experiment of a confederated republic may be ultimately wrecked. Since the adoption of the "Articles of Confederation," our government has withstood some rude shocks—first, upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution—at the commencement of the war of 1812—upon the Tariff question—and the last and greatest, upon the acquisition of Texas, and the admission of California as a State into the Union. The dangers from all the other questions have passed away; but, unhappily, from the last they have only commenced. Since the admission of California there has been a temporary calm; but, from all the signs of the times, it is the calm that precedes the tempest. When, or in what manner it will burst forth, we cannot predict; but one must be singularly hopeful or wilfully blind, who does not look forward to such an event as certain as destiny, and at no distant day:

One of the most certain indications of the increase of the abolition mania in the Northern States, is the reception and circulation of Mrs. Stowe's book; and the extraordinary manner in which she has been lionized in England, under the patronage of the Duchess of Sutherland—aided by men

of rank, position and reputation, in the face of all the abortive and disastrous efforts of England to abolish the slave trade and slavery—shows the extent of the same folly and fanaticism in that country, and what we have every reason to expect from its most certain reaction here.

Upon the subject of slavery, the minds of most men in England and in this country, except where the institution exists, appear to have lost all discrimination between truth and falsehood, all sense of justice, every principle of charity, and all respect for the motives and feelings of their fellows; and they receive, without inquiry, the evidence of any witness, no matter how prejudiced, ill-tempered, or ignorant—believe any statement, however improbable or revolting—slight every beneficial incident of the system which they cannot disprove—and utterly reject all defence of it, come from what quarter it may, that would dispel a delusion which they have determined to be true, because they wish it to be true.

The abolitionist sees through a glass darkly. Indeed, he will not look with his eyes, lest he might see. An incident occurred a few years ago in the city of Baltimore, strikingly illustrative of the fact—how easily men believe what they wish to believe. A Northern abolitionist, in walking through one of the streets of that city, thought he saw a wretched captive (black of course,) in the second story of a house on the street. His dress was torn and filthy, and he appeared to raise his fettered hands towards the iron bars of his prison, as if imploring the aid of the passer-by. The abolitionist turned away in horror from the sight, and cursed the system which tolerated such oppression. He had not walked far, however, before he met an acquaintance, to whom he narrated the incident. His friend told him that he must be mistaken, as he knew every house on the street mentioned, and that nothing of that kind could have taken place; but as the abolitionist declared that he would believe the evidence of his own eye-sight, his friend offered to go with him and examine into the truth of the tale. Upon closer scrutiny, they found that the iron-barred window was nothing more than a common sash, with the panes of glass broken

out, and the imprisoned slave turned out to be a pair of dark pantaloons, hanging near the window, which was occasionally blown to and fro by the wind. The imagination of the abolitionist had supplied all the rest.

As ready as the Northern abolitionist is to "believe a lie," the British abolitionist is not less so. Among other abundant manifestations of this *pre-occupation* of the English mind on the subject of slavery, our attention has been attracted by an article in the January number of the *Westminster Review*, which we have placed at the head of our own, written in a vindictive and uncharitable spirit, in which not only all the romantic exaggerations of "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*" have been received as true; but the most revolting statements of the bitterest foes to the institutions of the south, of free negroes and fugitive slaves, are taken, not as occasional acts of oppression, injustice and cruelty, which are equally true of every state of society on earth, but as the constantly recurring and every-day incidents, inherent in, and resulting from the system of slavery itself. As an illustration of the credulity and spite of the reviewer, we will give an extract, which he quotes from a volume "published in 1839, at New-York, by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, written by Mr. Theodore D. Weld, and entitled '*American Slavery as it is, or the Testimony of a thousand witnesses.*'"

"We will prove that the slaves of the United States," observes this writer, "are treated with barbarous inhumanity; that they are over-worked, under-fed, wretchedly clad and lodged, and have insufficient sleep; that they are often made to wear round their necks iron collars armed with prongs, to drag heavy chains and weights at their feet while working in the field, and to wear yokes, and bells, and iron horns; that they are often kept confined in the stocks day and night for weeks together, made to wear gags in their mouths for hours or days, have some of their front teeth torn out or broken off, that they may be easily detected when they run away; that they are frequently flogged with terrible severity, have red pepper rubbed into their lacerated flesh, and hot brine, spirits of turpentine, &c., poured over the gashes to increase the torture; that they are often stripped naked, their backs and limbs cut with knives, bruised and mangled by scores and hundreds of blows

with the paddle, and terribly torn by the claws of cats drawn over them by their tormentors ; that they are often hunted by blood-hounds and shot down like beasts, or torn in pieces by dogs ; that they are often suspended by the arm, and whipped and beaten till they faint, and when revived by restoratives beaten again till they faint, and sometimes till they die ; that their ears are often cut off, their eyes knocked out, their bones broken, their flesh branded with red-hot irons ; that they are maimed, mutilated and burned to death over slow fires. All these things, and more and worse, we shall *prove*. Reader, we know whereof we affirm, we have weighed it well ; *more and worse* we will prove. Mark these words and read on ; we will establish all these facts by the testimony of scores and hundreds of eye-witnesses, by the testimony of slaveholders in all parts of the slave States, by slaveholding members of Congress and of State Legislatures, by ambassadors to foreign courts, by judges, by doctors of divinity and clergymen of all denominations, by merchants, mechanics, lawyers and physicians, by presidents and professors in colleges and professional seminaries, by planters, overseers and drivers. We shall show not merely that such deeds are committed, but *that they are frequent* ; not done in corners, but before the sun ; not in one of the slave States, but in all of them ; not perpetrated by brutal oversers and drivers merely, but by magistrates, by legislators, by professors of religion, by preachers of the Gospel, by Governors of States, by gentlemen of property and standing, and by delicate females moving in the ‘highest circles of society.’”

The reviewer after making the above quotation, adds :

“These are the charges of the American abolitionist. Our readers are incredulous. So were we, until we examined for ourselves the proofs which they give, and found that the testimony which they say they will bring, they *do* bring, with names and dates, and vouchers of credibility ; so that only one of two things is possible—either the book with its charges is true, or it is the vilest of forgeries, and every word in it the falsest of libels ; in which case the silence of the slandered slave owner is unaccountable. But *the book is true* : it is impossible to read it, and not be possessed by its truthfulness : fact after fact, seizes the understanding, till it finds itself in a hell of horrors, from which there is no hope of escape.”

In a note to the above paragraph, the reviewer gives a remark of Fred. Douglass, made at a public meeting, held at

Finsbury Chapel, London—that “this publication has been before the public of the United States for the last seven years, and not a single fact or statement recorded therein has ever been called in question by a single slave-holder.”

Theodore Weld makes the charge, Fred. Douglass endorses it, and therefore “it is true,” says the reviewer. If such charges are true at all, and if instances of similar oppression, injustice and inhumanity are true only of slavery, and are not equally true of every state of society, where man has dominion over his fellow man, we will give up not only the defence of the system, but the system itself.

We do not deny that acts of great atrocity have been committed in the Southern States; but we contend that they are the results of the bad passions of men, as such acts are every where else, and we assert that when they do occur, they occasion deeper horror with us than among those whose philanthropy is confined to the black race, and consists of little more than words. But does the reviewer, in sober earnest, believe what he says? If the tithe, or the hundredth part of the charges made by the abolitionists upon the institution of slavery were true, how has it happened, that with the facilities afforded by “underground rail-roads,” and the ready sympathy of the “friends of the blacks,” at the North, in their favour, and only opposed by such inefficient means as we employ, the slaves of the South do not shake off and escape from the intolerable oppression? It has, probably, never occurred to this writer, that the slave-holding States of this confederacy are surrounded by con-terminous States—where slavery not only does not exist, but where the people are hostile to the institution—through an extent of more than two thousand miles, with no obstacle more insuperable any where than a river or a mountain, and often with no other boundary than a line made by a surveyor’s compass and chain, and the slave has but to step across this imaginary boundary and be free; yet among a population of more than three millions of slaves, only one thousand and eleven, as we learn by the last census, *did* escape in the year 1850, from such cruel task-masters, as the Southern people are represented to be, by Mrs. Stowe, Theodore Weld, Fred. Doug-

lass and others. Take, on the other hand, the tens of thousands of wretched Irish, who, with fewer facilities than are afforded to the Southern slave, annually escape from the horrors of British servitude to our shores—a migration without a parallel among civilized nations—and one which, if it continues as it has been going on since the last famine, will reduce that island to a desert, and probably force the English proprietors of the soil to another coolie importation, in order to cultivate their depopulated territory.

England, once called “merry England,” when slavery, *eo nomine*, existed within her borders,—but how bitter is the irony contained in that appellation now, when millions of her population are daily stretching out their hands, in vain, towards men and heaven for bread,—is the last country on earth to reproach any other for injustice, oppression and barbarity. Not to speak of the mal-administration of Ireland, and the hideous and indescribable misery of her people,—not to speak of the East Indies, and the countless yellow slaves held in hopeless bondage there,—not to speak of the slave trade and slavery, of which she was the prime instigator and the greatest gainer, we are prepared to show instances of oppression, cruelty, want, crime, and hopeless misery in the British Islands; and not, for the most part, unfrequent and occasional; but as the radical and irremediable results of British institutions.

Before we proceed further, we desire to call the attention of the reviewer to a phasis of British society, which, unhappily, does not represent an individual only, but a class; and if the melancholy picture is not a true one, we do not hold ourselves responsible for it, as we have taken it from the pages of the same Review, which he has chosen as the medium of his vindictive assault upon our institutions. It is the history of the birth, life, and death of an Englishman.

“The child was one of nine, the eldest of whom had been born on the ground floor of a house situated in a row, in a long dark alley, where the sun was never seen save at mid-day, and then only occasionally during the summer’s heat. The father had originally been a decent mechanic, earning from twenty-five to thirty shillings a week; and when his first child was born, there were few men in his station so hap-

py as he, for all his wants were well supplied. His wife was an industrious, cheerful partner; and the gloominess of their abode was unheeded, relieved as it was by their weekly walk in the green fields. Still more prosperous times came; and the earnings of the husband being increased, he was enabled to occupy both the rooms of the first floor. Three more children were born; and the necessity for a larger supply of food obliged them to encroach on their rent. The first floor was exchanged for the second;—the family was increased by two other members, and all removed to the garrets. For some years the weekly walk in the fields had been discontinued by the woman; and the garments of the husband having become unsightly, he also had ceased to seek the free air; the whole of his time was taken up with providing the food necessary for his children, and his wife was wholly occupied in looking after them, and contriving to keep together the rags which covered them. Two more children were born; and all were confined to a single back garret, where the wages of the husband being insufficient to appease their hunger, the wife endeavoured to eke them out by washing for their neighbours, some of whom were not quite so poor as themselves. It was a scene of misery, from which the elder children were glad to escape, and play upon the staircase, or in the court before the house; becoming early inured to disputes and quarrels among themselves and with other children—every room in the house being occupied by a separate family. In the midst of this the man's wages happened to be reduced; and after long bearing up against misery, he at last yielded to the habit of intoxication—partly to appease the cravings of unsatisfied hunger, and partly to get rid of thought. His wife still struggled and worked harder, but only to procure food, for all other considerations were now disregarded. In this condition her ninth child was born; and charity alone—the charity of misery to still greater misery—saved them from starving. But the woman was changed; she had become reckless through suffering, and the sight of her youngest child only served to remind her that an additional weight of misery had fallen on her. She also took to intoxication as a refuge from pain; the coin which was inadequate to supply food, was yet sufficient to produce a temporary oblivion of the want of it. The frequent hunger and pain which the child experienced were alleviated in the same manner;—none smiled on its young eyes when they opened, and almost the only sensation of pleasure it could experience, was in gazing vacantly on the rays of sunlight, which at some few intervals penetrated the apartment. Mother and father were now frequently away from home for hours, and sometimes days together; and remarkable in a sickly infant was the te-

nacity of life, which would not suffer it to perish. How the other children lived, was a mystery to all but those in a similar condition : they had no daily meals, nor even sat down to food. Like dogs or wolves, they had a great capacity for endurance : having no labour to perform, they could exist for days on the smallest quantity of food, and they were ever on the alert to beg, snatch, or steal. One feeling alone was uppermost in their minds, which gave room to no other—the pain of unsatisfied hunger. Their dreams, during the scanty time of sleep, were of eating ; and when they awakened, it was to seek the means of eating. The elder children took by force from the younger any scraps of food they found with them ; and the younger resorted to cunning to devour them in private. If chance threw in their way a larger booty than ordinary, it was devoured in haste, and in quantity, which left them in the condition of the torpid boa—a prey to the pangs and helplessness of over-repletion.

“Gloomy was the daily scene on which the young child gazed when his faculties began to awaken. During the summer he would crawl towards the miserable casement, and look upwards through the instertices of surrounding stacks of chimneys, to gaze upon the light ; but when winter came, he shrank, shivering, huddled up in his rags, towards the fire-place, which rarely contained a fire, and when by chance it did, volumes of smoke filled the apartment, and clouded over the wretched fragments called furniture, which only remained unsold by the parents because they were worth no one’s purchase. Ere the child was old enough to descend the stairs, to follow the pursuit of his brothers and sisters, the whole family were ejected from their miserable abode, to one still more wretched—they were driven to the cellar. It was in the autumn, and the damp of the place soon made a fearful change. Ere they had been a week in it, the whole of them were laid prostrate by typhus fever. The father, the two eldest boys and the youngest, alone survived to endure farther suffering. They might even then have become worthy members of society, had the father retained strength of purpose, or moral feeling, for the disposition of the eldest boy was naturally kind and benevolent, ere it had been hardened by want and misery. But it was now too late, and the intellect of the boy only served to make him a skilful thief. The whole family were maintained by the provisions which he, and his brother under his directions, contrived to pilfer. Occasionally they were committed to prison, to pursue the same course again when enlarged. They lived in the belief that thieving was their proper trade, and those who punished them for it were tyrants, whose only right was might. The heart of the eldest boy expanded towards

the young child, who was accustomed to look for his return home as his only source of pleasure ; and when the father died of disease and debauchery, he took him for his protégé, and removed to a more healthy abode. The other brother disappeared, no one knew whither ; and when the youngest attained the age of seven years, his only friend, his only protector, the only being who loved him, was taken from him by a sentence of transportation. Left alone in the world, he became a thief at that early age ; and ere he attained eight years, he became acquainted with the interior of a prison. Harshly treated by all, he grew fierce and reckless ; and as his intellect expanded, he became a fearful spoiler of his kind. He loved no one and trusted no one ; sensual excitement was his only pleasure, his only wish, and he revelled in every kind of debauchery. His natural energy was divided between the pursuit of robbery and the dissipation of the gains acquired by it. His intelligence succeeded in putting off to a distant period the retribution with which he knew society would sooner or later visit ; and he had attained twenty-three years, ere he was convicted of felony, and transported to a penal colony. His career was then short. On the voyage, he planned a mutiny, which failed of success by the treachery of an accomplice ; and, on landing, the punishment inflicted on him was of a kind which would have destroyed every spark of humanity in him, had any remained. He escaped and became a leader of bush-rangers ; his hands were made familiar with human blood ; and after going through scenes of the most disgusting horrors, he was shot like a wild beast in his lair, by those who feared to approach him from terror of his untameable ferocity. Yet this being was once a gentle infant, smiling in innocence.”*

The reviewer, while refusing to justify the conduct of England in relation to the slave trade and slavery, says that the comparison between the condition of British labourers and slaves is the favourite argument of the American, as it was of the West Indian planter, which we admit ; but he contends that we make such deductions from it as the following :—“ Your rich men oppress your poor, therefore we may oppress ours ; your operatives are miserable, therefore we may inflict misery on ours ; your peasantry are more slaves to circumstances, and through circumstances to you,

* London and Westminster Review, No. VI. and XLIX, for July, 1836. Art. IX.—*Domestic Arrangements of the Working Classes.*

than are our chattels to us, and, therefore, lest they should become as badly off as your poor, we keep them chattels." Now this is not so. We deny that any sensible slaveholder has ever based his defence of slavery upon such wretched grounds. But we have a right to inquire who are these self-constituted censors of our morals, who, with less humility than the proud Pharisee, thank God that they are not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, or even as *these slaveholders*, and whether they who denounce us for what they are pleased to term the sin of slavery, have not sins to answer for of deeper dye, and far less excusable than our own. It is our duty to inquire what are the practical workings of the boasted institutions of England, when we are tauntingly challenged to substitute them for ours, and it well becomes us to show, from British or other history, that the excesses attributed to the institution of slavery, are incident to every state of civilized society and to every system of servitude. We take, therefore, the following picture of the present condition of things in Great Britain, drawn by the graphic pen of Carlyle, and let those who denounce us examine every plantation, and the sinks of every city, from the Poto-mac to the Rio Grande, from the mouth of the Des Moines to the keys of Florida; and if they can find any parallel to it; if any, the slightest approximation to it, we will give up the argument.

"Of these successful skilful workers, some two millions, it is now counted, sit in work-houses, poor-law prisons, or have 'out door relief' flung over the wall to them—the work-house Bastille being filled to bursting, and the strong poor-law broken asunder by a stronger. They sit there these many months now; their hope of deliverance as yet small. In work-houses, pleasantly so named, because work cannot be done in them. Twelve hundred thousand workers in England alone; their cunning right-hand lamed, lying idle in their sorrowful bosom; their hopes, outlooks, share of this fair world, shut in by narrow walls. They sit there, pent up, as in a kind of horrid enchantment; glad to be imprisoned and enchanted, that they may not perish starved. A picturesque tourist, in a sunny autumn day, through this bounteous realm of England, describes the Union work-house on his path. 'Passing by the work-house of St. Ives, in Huntingdonshire, on a bright

day last autumn,' says the tourist, 'I saw sitting on wooden benches, in front of their Bastile and within their ring wall and its railings, some half hundred or more of these men. Tall, robust figures, young mostly, or of middle age; of honest countenance, many of them thoughtful and even intelligent looking men. They sat there, near by one another, but in a kind of torpor, especially in a silence, which was very striking. In silence: for, alas, what word was to be said? An earth all lying round, crying, come and till me, come and reap me; yet we sit enchanted! In the eyes and brows of these men hung the gloomiest expression, not of anger, but of grief and shame, and manifold inarticulate distress and weariness; they returned my glance with a glance that seemed to say, do not look at us. We sit enchanted here, we know not why. The sun shines and the earth calls; and by the governing powers and impotences of this England, we are forbidden to obey. It is impossible they tell us. There was something that reminded me of Dante's Hell in the look of all this, and I rode swiftly away.'

"'So many hundred thousand,' continues Carlyle, sit in work-houses: and other hundred thousands have not yet got even work-houses: and in thrifty Scotland itself, in Glasgow or Edinburgh city, in their dark lanes, hidden from all but the eye of God, and of rare benevolence the minister of God, there are scenes of woe, and destitution, and desolation, such as one may hope the sun never saw before in the most barbarous regions where men dwell. Competent witnesses, the brave and humane Dr. Alison, who speaks what he knows, report these things for us: these things are not of this year or of last year, have no reference to our present state of commercial stagnation, but only to the common state. Not in sharp fever fits, but in chronic gangrene of this kind is Scotland suffering.

"Why dwell on this aspect of the matter! It is too indisputable, not doubtful now to any one. Descend where you will into the lower class, in town or country, by what avenue you will, by factory inquiries, agricultural inquiries, by revenue returns, by mining-labourer committees, by opening your own eyes and looking—the same sorrowful result discloses itself: you have to admit that the working body of this rich English nation has sunk, or is fast sinking, into a state to which, all sides of it considered, there was literally never any parallel. At Stockport assizes—and this too has no reference to the present state of trade, being of date prior to that—a mother and a father are arraigned and found guilty of poisoning three of their children, to defraud a 'burial society' of some £3. 8s., due on the death of each child: they are arraigned, found guilty, and the official authorities, it is whispered, hint

that perhaps the case is not solitary, that perhaps you had better not probe farther into that department of things. This is in the autumn of 1841; the crime itself is of the previous year or season. ‘Brutal savages, degraded Irish,’ mutters the idle reader of newspapers, hardly lingering on this incident. Yet it is an incident worth lingering on; the depravity, savagery and degraded Irishism being never so well admitted. In the British land, a human mother and father, of white skin, and professing the Christian religion, had done this thing; they, with their Irishism and necessity and savagery, had been driven to do it. A human mother and father had said to themselves, what shall we do to escape starvation? We are deep sunk here in our dark cellar, and help is far. Yes, in the Ugolina Hunger-tower stern things happen! The Stockport mother and father think and hint. Our poor little starvelling Tom, who cries all day for victuals, who will see only evil and not good in this world; if he were out of misery at once; he well dead, and the rest of us perhaps kept alive? It is thought and hinted; at last it is done. And now Tom being killed, and all being spent and eaten, it is poor little starvelling Jack that must go, or poor little starvelling Will? What an inquiry of ways and means!” *Past and Present*, pp. 5, 6, 7.

What an inquiry, indeed! But, says Theodore Weld, in the passage we have already quoted, and which is endorsed by the reviewer—“We will prove that the slaves of the United States are treated with barbarous inhumanity.” It would be a waste of labour to deny this charge to any but those at a distance, and who have never observed the system of slavery in its practical operation. No candid inquirer after truth, however prejudiced or misled he may have been before, who has seen the slave of the Southern States at his labour, or lounging at his cabin among his family, has ever repeated this charge. We have admitted before that there are exceptional cases—that instances of harsh and cruel treatment do occur: but is inhumanity confined to the Southern States, and cruel treatment only inflicted on the black? Let us take, for instance, the following facts from the comments of the London Morning Herald, on the Report of the “Children’s Employment Commission,” made to the British Parliament in 1842, and we doubt very much if any similar instances of heartless cruelty can be found in the Southern

States, since Sir John Hawkins introduced the first slave into Hispaniola, in 1562.

"Mr. Fellowes, one of the commissioners," observes the editor of the Herald, "gives the following graphic description of the employment of children in the coal pits near Brompton. 'The seams are so thin, that several have only two feet headway to all the works. The pits are altogether worked by boys. The elder one lies on his side, and in that posture *holes* and gets the coal. It is then loaded in a barrow, or tub, and drawn along the bank of the pit mouth, without wheels, by boys from eight to twelve years of age, *on all fours*, with dog-belts and chains, the passage being very often an inch or two thick in black mud, and are neither ironed nor wooded. In Mr. Barnes' pit these poor boys have to drag the barrows with one cwt. of coals, sixty times a day sixty yards, and the empty barrows back, without once straightening their backs, unless they stand under the shaft, and run the risk of having their heads broken by a coal falling.' Again he says:—'Out of five children I examined, who worked in the Brompton pits, three were not only bow-legged, but their arms were bowed in the same way, and their whole frame appeared far from being well developed. In some instances the water is constantly dripping upon them from the roof, so that in a short time after they have commenced the labour of the day their clothes are drenched, and in this state, with their feet also in the water, they work all day. The children especially—and, in general, the younger the age the more painful this unfavourable state of the place is felt—complain bitterly of this; and, it must be borne in mind, that it is in this district, that according to the evidence, the regular hours of a full day's labour are fourteen, and occasionally sixteen.'

"But bad as is the condition of the children," observes the editor, "who are taken by their own parents into the mines, there is another class whose fate is infinitely worse—the orphans who are apprenticed by some poor-law union as 'harriers.' The usual plan is to bind them to this worse than negro slavery in its worst days, from the age of nine years to twenty one; but even this merciful limitation of the bondage is evaded without scruple. Mr. Symons, one of the sub-commissioners, mentions a very gross case of the Dewsbury Union apprenticing a child, who was not five years of age, and having been remonstrated with, pleaded that they had not *formally* bound him, and should not until he was nine.

"The overseer candidly stated," continues the editor, "that cases of cruelty to apprentices in coal mines were very common. He was obliged

to summon three cases within the last week, where boys had been unmercifully used. They were all bad cases, but one of them nearly proved fatal. The outrage, for some trivial fault, he thus described. 'A man got the boy's head between his legs, and each boy in the pit (and there were eighteen or twenty of them,) inflicted twelve strokes on the boy's rump and loins with a *cat*. I never saw such a sight in my life. The flesh of the rump and the loins were beaten to a jelly. The surgeon said the boy could not survive—but he did.' The overseer further stated, that had the other boys refused to take part in this brutality, they would have been served the same; and so far from the case being an extraordinary one, it was quite a common one.

"No care whatever is, in fact, shown by any party for these poor children. Their own parents or masters would not cripple or maim them, because it would be against their own interest to do so; but the adult miners treat them with relentless persecution, and neither the proprietor, nor the under-steward, nor the 'butty,' takes the slightest trouble to prevent it. 'In many cases' the report says—"the conduct of the adult colliers to children and young persons who assist them is harsh and cruel; the persons in authority in these mines never interfere to prevent it, and many distinctly stating that they do not conceive they have any right to do so.' Fortunate it is for them if they get food and refreshment, and still more fortunate if they get time to enjoy it; but amusement and recreation, they have none, many of them never seeing daylight for weeks in the winter; and as for education, secular or religious, they have no opportunity to acquire it, even if there was any one to impart it."

What a picture! Uneducated children from five years and upwards, worked under ground, in water, on all fours, with dog-belts and chains, from fourteen to sixteen hours a day; shut out from the light of heaven for weeks at a time, and for some trivial fault, receiving two hundred and forty strokes with a *cat*! What would not Mrs. Stowe and the Dutchess of Sutherland give for one well authenticated fact of similar atrocity, as occurring in the Southern States? But the sympathies of these philanthropic women never extend in that direction. Those unhappy children were white!

The next charge of Theodore Weld is that the slaves "are over-worked," and the reviewer says the charge is true. This charge is founded on utter ignorance of the kinds of employment, and the hours of labour, assigned to slaves in

the Southern States. Up to the age of twelve or fourteen years, they do not work at all, but revel in the most undisturbed indolence. Their occupations after that age are chiefly confined to labour carried on by the plough, the hoe and the axe, and all the operations of a plantation or farm, require little skill, no great amount of strength, or capacity for endurance. Task-work is very commonly adopted, and that is regulated by the ability of the weakest to perform the task; while as to their hours of labour, it is a rare occurrence that they are *ever* extended—with necessary intervals for refreshment and rest—beyond the period of from sunrise to sun-set. Besides, no one would make the charge of over-work against slave owners in the South, who had examined the census returns and the statistics of population in this country. In the last ten years, the slaves in the Southern States have increased 28.50 per cent.—an increase for which nothing analagous can be found in the most prosperous countries of Europe, and is only exceeded by the white population of the United States, with all the advantages afforded by the extraordinary emigration from Europe during the last decade. It need scarcely be affirmed that an over-worked people do not increase rapidly. We have besides a comparison of our slaves with the free negroes of the North during the same period, who, with the addition of the fugitives escaped from slavery, have only amounted to 10.9 per cent.

In a previous number of this Review, it has been shown, that though slaves fall into the hands of bad masters, be they ever so cruel and avaricious, they have an innate principle of protection, more effectually guarding them against the oppressions and over-exactions of hard task-masters, than any human laws, means or devices could do;—that this principle of protection is denied to the English; because there is not a street in Manchester, Sanford or Stockport, which does not present the most deplorable objects of disease and deformity, produced by no other cause than the long-continued over-working of the labourers;—that if negroes, instead of white men, were in the factories of England and Scotland, then Parliament might safely spare itself

the pains of fixing by law the hours of labour, and of trying to prevent the abuses, extortions and cruel exactions practised on the labourers ;—that when more is exacted from the negro than is reasonable service, the law of protection comes into action, and transforms him from the mild, good-natured, obedient, timid domestic, into a stubborn demon, knowing no fear and feeling no pain ;—that so far from a cruel or avaricious master being able to extort *more* than a very reasonable amount of service from him, he cannot extort as much, and that of the thousands and hundreds of thousands of masters, now holding millions of blacks in bondage, none have been able to force a single slave, for any length of time, an inch beyond a reasonable duty or service.*

All this is confirmed by the experience of every one who has had any means of forming a knowledge of the character of the negro. It is well known to such persons, that slaves, to oblige an owner, on any extraordinary occasion, or on the spur of some necessity, will perform with cheerfulness and great endurance, an incredible amount of labour, but if an attempt is made, when the necessity no longer exists, to draw their ready compliance into a precedent, by increasing their accustomed task, they will obstinately rebel against it, and the owner will find, in the vain conflict between his avarice and their dogged resolution, that he will be forced to abandon the unequal contest. But did the reviewer, before he endorsed this charge, reflect how true it was, of the great body of operatives at home, under the system of British servitude ? It would be no difficult matter to occupy the remainder of this article, and even the whole number of this Review, with evidence the most conclusive, on this subject, drawn from his “Blue Books,” “Reports of Colliery Commissions,” of “Short-time Commissions,” &c.—the use of which by us, he so much deprecates ; but we will content ourselves, and without a word of comment, with an extract from a recent article in the London Times, entitled “What is Slavery ?”

* Southern Quarterly Review, No. IV, for October, 1842, Art. III., Canaan Identified with the Ethiopian, pp. 335, 336.

“Granting that the negro gangs, who are worked on the cotton grounds of the Southern States of North America, or in the sugar plantations of Brazil, are slaves, in what way should we speak of persons who are circumstanced in the manner we are about to relate? Let us consider them as inhabitants of a distant region, no matter about the colour of their skins, and then ask ourselves what should be our opinion of a nation in which such things are tolerated. They are of a sex and age the least qualified to struggle with the hardships of their lot—young women, for the most part, between sixteen and thirty years of age. As we would not deal in exaggerations, we would premise that we take them at their busy season, just as writers upon American slavery are careful to select the season of cotton picking and sugar crushing, as illustrations of their theories. The young female slaves then, of whom we speak, are worked in gangs in ill-ventilated rooms, or rooms that are not ventilated at all, for it is found by experience, that if air be admitted, it brings with it “blacks” of another kind, which damage the work upon which the seamstresses are employed. Their occupation is to sew from morning till night, and night till morning—stich, stich, stich, without pause, without speech—without a smile—without a sigh. In the grey of the morning, they must be at work; say at six o’clock—having a quarter of an hour allowed them for breaking their fast. The food served out to them is scanty and miserable enough, but still, in all probability, more than their fevered systems can digest. We do not, however, wish to make out a case of starvation; the suffering is of another kind—equally dreadful of endurance.

“From six o’clock till eleven, it is stich, stich, stich. At eleven a small piece of dry bread is served to each seamstress, but still she must stich on. At one o’clock, twenty minutes are allowed for dinner—a slice of meat and a potato, with a glass of toast and water to each workwoman. Then again to work; stich, stich, until five o’clock, when fifteen minutes are allowed for tea. The needles are then set in motion once more—stich, stich, until nine o’clock, when fifteen minutes are allowed for supper; a piece of dry bread and cheese, and a glass of beer. From nine o’clock until one, two and three o’clock in the morning, stich, stich; the only break in this long period being a minute or two—just time enough to swallow a cup of strong tea, which is supplied lest the young people should ‘feel sleepy.’ At three o’clock, A. M., to bed; at six o’clock, A. M., out of it again, to resume the duties of the following day.

“But when we have said that for certain months in the year these unfortunate young persons are worked in the manner we describe, we

have not said all. Even during the few hours allotted to sleep—should we not rather say to a feverish cessation from toil?—their miseries continue. They are cooped up in sleeping pens, ten in a room, which would perhaps be sufficient for the accommodation of two persons. The alternation is from the treadmill, and what a treadmill! to the Black Hole at Calcutta. Not a word of remonstrance is allowed, or is possible. The seamstresses may leave the mill, no doubt; but what awaits them at the other side of the door? Starvation, if they be honest—if not, in all probability, prostitution and its consequences. They would scarcely escape from slavery that way. Surely this is a very terrible state of things, and one which claims the anxious consideration of the ladies of England, who have pronounced themselves so loudly against the horrors of negro slavery in the United States. Had this system of oppression, against persons of their own sex, been exercised in New-Orleans, it would have elicited from them many expressions of sympathy for the sufferers, and of abhorrence for the cruel task-masters who could so cruelly overwork wretched creatures so unfitted for the toil.

“It is idle to use any further mystification in the matter. The scenes of misery we have described exist at our own doors, and in the most fashionable quarters of luxurious London.”

The next charge which the reviewer receives as equally true is, that the slaves are “under-fed.” Since the United States government has taken the pains to collect statistics, not only in relation to our population, but also as to the productive wealth of the country, this charge appears to have been abandoned by the Northern abolitionist. It is now reaffirmed by the English reviewer. It is renewed among a people whose great effort is, to sell “manufactured cotton at a farthing an ell cheaper than any other people,” by those who, by a skilful combination of science and capital, have succeeded in reducing their white slaves to the minimum amount of food, clothing and sleep, and in proving to the world “that a human family *can* live on seven and sixpence a week.” We will not open the dreadful record of English destitution and “Irish poverty” to refute this slander. We prefer to rely on other facts that are equally open to the reviewer as to ourselves. It is stated in the Abstract of the Seventh Census, that in South-Carolina the crop of corn amounted, in 1850, to 16,272,000 bushels of Indian corn, and

1,066,000 bushels of wheat ; the amount of sweet potatoes, peas, and of rice not reported, &c., is not given. What, we may ask, is done with all this food ? Of Indian corn alone, it amounts to about twenty-four bushels to each man, woman and child of the entire population. The white people cannot consume it. It is notorious that South-Carolina does not export articles of food except rice, and that considerable quantities of both Indian corn and flour are imported. What is then done, we repeat, with all this amount of food ? It is assuredly not consumed by our horses and labouring cattle, when the human worker requires to be well fed in order to perform a due amount of labour. The truth is precisely the reverse of the charge. The slaves of the Southern States have a superfluity of food. All of them, with few exceptions, tend a crop of their own, and inducements are held out to them to cultivate vegetables and fruit. Numbers of them keep hogs and a dog, and some are even permitted to keep a cow and sometimes a horse.

Several years ago a Northern abolitionist, of some distinction as a writer, came to the South to collect facts, as it turned out afterwards, such as Theodore Weld has published, (which we must do him the justice to say he did not do, as we are informed,) and as he expressed a desire to see slaves at their daily work, we drove him to our plantation, where the negroes were engaged in "listing" cotton ground, preparatory to bedding and planting. The ground was in good order for the work, and a half acre, the usual task to the hand, of the neighbourhood, was, in the state of the land, a very easy one. The objects that first struck the attention of the abolitionist, were the task-stakes throughout the field. "What are these sticks intended for ?" he asked. We replied that they were task-stakes. "What are they ?" We explained to him that they marked the quantity of labour assigned to each hand for the day. It was a little after ten o'clock, A. M., and the tasks generally were already nearly half done. "What do they after this task is done, for it seems half finished now ?" What they please, we replied, except that they are not permitted to leave the plantation without permission. He seemed incredulous ; but what arrested his attention

most forcibly, was a dog which came up to us while in the field. "Whose dog is that?" he asked. "It belongs to me," replied one of the negroes standing near us. "It belongs to you!" exclaimed the abolitionist, in unaffected surprise. "What does he eat?" "He eats what I eat," replied the negro, with not a little contempt at the apparent simplicity of the question. The abolitionist turned away, moody and dissatisfied. He had to surrender a cherished belief. He had seen an "under-fed" negro keeping a sleek and well-fed dog! The English reviewer could have informed him that an Irish "con-acre" man sometimes kept a pig, but took good care never to eat it. It was to pay the "rint."

It is really amazing what effrontery the English abolitionist exhibits on this subject, when among the great body of labourers in that country, a "belly-full" is a sort of Godsend, and is the exception, not the rule. "Three wet days," says Mr. Mahew, upon the authority of a clergyman engaged in selling stenographic cards in the streets of London, "will bring the greater part of thirty thousand street people to the brink of starvation;" and "this statement," Mr. Mahew adds, "terrible as it is, is not exaggerated."* These "street people," as they are called, include few, if any, of the common mendicants of London. They are an active and hardy race, who obtain a precarious and scanty subsistence by selling fruits, vegetables, fish, &c., about the streets of London. But miserable as the condition of the costermongers is, there are other classes in that city far more numerous and still more wretched.

"Begging," says the author of an article in the same number of the Review which contains the one we are now commenting on, entitled *The Charities of London*, "has become not only a regularly organized trade, but it is divided into as many distinct branches, and carried on in as many various modes, as the cotton or the hardware trade. We have no means of forming even a conjecture as to the number of those who make a living by these mischievous and disreputable means, but there can be no doubt that it is enormous.

* *London Labour and the London Poor*, p. 57.

Many of them are children, trained from the cradle to this scandalous profession."

We pretend to some acquaintance with the system of American slavery. We have seen its operation in every Southern State except Maryland, Florida and Texas, and we have yet to see a slave begging for bread. We have seen the women frequently ask for some tawdry article of dress, which they very much affect, and the men for a chew of tobacco or a fourpence "to buy a dram;" but for food, never. In a labouring black population of more than three millions, not a single beggar! How fortunate would it be if this condition of things were true, if it were possible, of the system of British servitude? How soon then would we be forced to exchange our system of slavery for theirs? We, too, have our beggars, but they are of foreign importation, and they are not only white, but free.

The next charge against us is, that the slaves are "wretchedly clad and lodged." This charge is so easily refuted, that it is somewhat surprising that it should be made; and we may infer that it was intended for Northern and British eyes, not for Southern. All industrious slaves make money; and they lay it out chiefly in clothing, which, together with what they receive twice during the year from their owners, keep them as comfortable and as decently clothed as any labouring peasantry elsewhere. It is well known that, in general, they dress better than very many white labourers in the Southern States, and that often produces a feeling of jealousy, and sometimes of hostility, of the latter class towards them. As to their habitations, our easiest reply would be, to challenge inspection. That they are healthy, we need but refer again to the last Census Report, where it is shown, as before stated, that they have increased more than $28\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the last ten years, which is very nearly 3 per cent. per annum, while the increase of the most favoured portions of Europe is less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Their houses are generally divided into two rooms, with a fire place, and never more than one family to each house. Negroes, therefore, never have typhus fever, that dreadful scourge of the crowded courts and damp cellars of London and other large towns.

Theodore Weld, we presume, knows something of the "Five Points," of New-York city, and the reviewer has some acquaintance, we suppose, with the "Charlotte-buildings, off Gray's Inn-lane." If not, we commend to his consideration the following article, in a late number of the London Morning Herald, on "The London Poor :

"Not very far from the spot where we write, within no very great distance of the residence of many of our aristocracy, lies one of those dark and gloomy 'courts,' which all over London are thronged by the poor. It is not, we believe, worse than hundreds of others, but it has been explored, and to the humanity of those who have visited its dismal chambers, we are indebted for a description of the dwellings, and the daily life of myriads of our swarming population.

"The 'court' of which we write, Charlotte-buildings, off Gray's-inn-lane, contains fifteen houses, and these fifteen houses give, each containing eight rooms, shelter upon the very lowest calculation, to a population of very nearly one thousand persons. The description of one of these houses is the description of all. Will our readers bear with us, while we take them through its apartments, as they are described by an eye-witness. We begin with the two rooms on the ground floor.

"In the front room 'there are no bedsteads, chairs or tables—a few ragged cloths are drying before a little fire in the grate—above the mantel are a looking glass about three inches high, and some torn prints of the crucifixion, &c.; in the cupboards, without doors, are pieces of broken crockery; a kind of bed in one corner, with children asleep; the floor rotten in many parts, the wall and ceiling sadly cracked. The rent is 2s. 8d. per week.'

"We are not told who are the inmates of this chamber, but the room immediately behind it, 'presents a sad scene of distress—the man, his wife and some children, earn a living by chopping firewood; the man had been ill, and not able to rise for two days; he was lying on a quantity of wood-shavings, and was covered with an old black and ragged blanket; his skin did not appear as if it had been washed for weeks; he was very ill, and evidently in a state of fever; his wife was almost equally dirty. *We have no wood to chop*, was the expression of their ultimate distress. This room was much dilapidated, and they had suffered greatly during the late severe weather, owing to the broken condition of the windows. The rent was 1s. 9d. per week; the window ~~over~~looked a back-yard, the condition of which was shocking.'

"These it will be remembered," observes the editor of the *Herald*," are not the haunts of outcasts of society, who live by plunder. This wretched back room is the hiding place of a miserable couple, who, with their children, attempt to earn their bread by an humble and ill-requited, but an honest industry. The expression of their worst distress is 'we have no wood to chop.'

"The first floor," observes the writer, "both back and front, was crowded with inhabitants, the people acknowledged that fifteen persons slept in the two little rooms last night; the walls were cracked and dirty, and the ceiling constantly falls upon the floor, while the inmates are taking their food. Continuing our way up stairs, we found the state of the staircase of the rooms worse and worse. In the front room, when our eyes had become accustomed to the Rembrandtish gloom, we found fifteen persons! Some had been selling onions, &c. in the streets, some begging, one or two were seemingly bricklayer's labourers, and others had been working at the carrion heaps in the neighbourhood.

"The others presented the same dismal picture, with the addition of holes in the roof, through which the winds, and rains, and snows, made their way upon the inmates of this wretched tenement. For these attics the rent was the same as for the lower apartments—an anomaly accounted for by the fact that 'the landlord removes to the upper rooms those who may be a shilling or so in arrear of rent.' The annual sum extorted from these miserable beings for the hire of this one house, amounts to upwards of £40! a rent infinitely greater, in proportion, than is paid for the noblest palaces of the west-end.

"It is difficult to realize the appalling truth, that in one small court of this great metropolis, one thousand human beings are at this moment thus existing. Multiply this number by that of the similar receptacles of human misery that surround us, and we may venture to set against all the degradation of human nature that prevails over ten thousand square miles of the most savage district upon earth, the utter abasement of our fellow creatures, which is, at the very hour when we write, contained within the limits of the metropolis of great and Christian England!

"Let men prate as they will about our progress, we do not believe that scenes like these existed in the olden times. Discomfort there may have been—distress and hard and pinching times, but we do not believe that any generation but our own has ever witnessed so hideous a congregation of squalid, abject and hopeless destitution, as is to be found in these loathsome receptacles to which our busy civilization drives its cast-off and rejected victims to rot."

It is further charged against the system of slavery, that the slaves "have insufficient sleep." That is a complaint which masters sometimes urge against the slaves themselves; because from a fondness for society and a disposition to ramble about at night, they do not devote a sufficient portion of it to sleep. We have already answered the charge of their being over-worked; and we dismiss this one, with the remark that if the slaves have insufficient sleep, the fault is not attributable to their masters, but to themselves.

The last charge made by Theodore Weld, which we shall examine, would be very revolting, if it were true, as stated by him—that the slaves "are often made to wear round their necks iron collars, armed with prongs; to drag heavy chains and weights at their feet while working in the field," &c. If such punishments were general, or even frequent, as affirmed by this abolitionist, they would afford a strong reason for the abolition of slavery: for we would neither defend, nor cleave to any institution, or system of labour, which could only be maintained by chains, blood and tears. That such modes of punishment are sometimes resorted to by cruel and avaricious masters—for there are such in every society—who are indifferent to the welfare and ignorant of the management of their slaves, we will not deny; but we assert that these instances are extremely rare, and we believe that thousands live, grow old and die in the South, who have never witnessed such scenes as are here described as *frequent*, or ever heard of them, except by vague rumor or tradition. Nothing is more true, than that a slave owner loses the consideration and respect of his neighbours, by any undue severity towards his slaves. More than one instance of the kind has come under our own observation, which confirms the truth of what we assert in every particular. It has been observed by the author of the article to which we have before referred,* that "Southern overseers, who attempted to force the slave peasantry to the performance of more than a moderate service, always failed in their object, fell into disrepute, and lost their business equally as soon as

* Canaan identified with the Ethiopian, p. 346.

if they had adopted the other extreme, neglected their duties, and permitted the labourers to idle away their time. We know from the opportunities of observation thrown open to us, by a long and extensive practice of medicine, on various plantations, in a number of neighbourhoods, that the best overseers, and those who got the highest wages, pursued a middle course—seldom punishing, except when necessary to preserve order and discipline—using every means to make the operatives comfortable, happy, and attached to their homes—relying chiefly upon the more trustworthy slaves themselves to limit, or extend the amount of each day's labour." But if the atrocious charges made by Theodore Weld were true, we could find not a justification, but a precedent, in the cruelty inflicted by British task-masters towards their helpless and miserable operatives, as is shown in the following extracts, which we make from Mr. Walsh's letter, published in the *National Intelligencer*, June, 1842 :

"The Bishop of Norwich, in presenting five petitions from Oldham, Chester, Pendleton, near Manchester, Leeds and Lancaster, praying the House to take measures to prevent the employ of females in coal mines, adverted to the report of the commissioners upon that subject, and the description it gave of the treatment to which women and children were subject in the mines of the north, where he understood they were chained to their labour of dragging small vehicles loaded with coal, through narrow apertures or passages, when they were obliged to crawl upon their hands and knees, their garments drenched with water. It was not, however, to the physical labour alone, to which he desired to call their lordship's attention, but to the moral degradation to which these females, from early years were exposed, associated as they were, with the lowest profligacy and grossest sensuality.

"The Bishop explained the manner in which the chains was fastened on the persons of the females, being round the waist and passing underneath the legs ; thus they drew the vehicle through the narrow aperture on their hands and knees."

And the *London Morning Chronicle* in its abstract of the debate, which arose in the House of Lords on these petitions, makes the following observations :

"Much of the information contained in these reports, is of a most

appalling nature. That a state of things such as prevails in the eastern district of Scotland, and more particularly in the very vicinity of Edinburgh, should have continued to our times, is absolutely disgraceful to the nation. If the children of negroes had been treated as the children of the colliers are treated in the east of Scotland, what an outcry would have been made! But the black children have numerous protectors, while the children of the white people are the victims of cruelty and ill-usage."

The reviewer repeats and declares to be true, other statements and narrations of fugitive slaves and English travellers, which cover much the same ground as we have gone over, and sneeringly alludes to our *wasted fields, fearful firesides, and nightly alarm of massacre*. We may well leave the argument, in respect to the "wasted fields" of the South, to our census reports, which exhibit a progress in agricultural wealth—in the variety richness and abundance of our productions—that is unequalled in any country in the world. Wealth, too, diffused among all classes of the population—not confined to a landed aristocracy, to a few rich mill-owners and commercial capitalists, as in England, but scattered broad-cast over the land, so that no one may die of starvation, or want food, who will work for it. England is rich; but whom does her wealth benefit? "To whom, then," asks Carlyle, "is this wealth of England wealth? Who is it that it blesses; makes happier, wiser, beautifuller, in any way better? We have more riches than any nation ever had before; we have less good of them than any nation ever had before. Our successful industry is hitherto unsuccessful. In the midst of plethoric plenty the people perish." These "wasted fields" supplied no little portion of the food sent to Britain and Ireland in their last famine, and now supply that great staple upon which the prosperity—we might say the existence—of England depends.

He says, too, we have "fearful firesides and nightly alarm of massacre." He means, we presume, that we are afraid of our slaves. How ignorant, people at a distance are, of the little antagonism that really exists between master and slave? Judging of the fearful conflict between labour and capital, always going on among themselves, they most erro-

neously conclude that it must exist everywhere. Does the rich English mill-owner carefully watch over the children of his operatives in infancy? Does he feed them, clothe them in manhood, and assiduously nurse them in sickness? Does he protect them with the same care and exempt them from *all* labour in old age, in gratitude for service rendered;—and does he decently bury them when they die? All that is done by the slave owners of the South, and that is the reason why there is no conflict between the labourer and the capitalist with us. To the English master, the health, the comfort and happiness of his workman, are nothing. His life is nothing; his labour is all! “My starving workers? answers the rich mill-owner: Did not I hire them fairly in the market? Did I not pay them, to the last sixpence, the sum covenanted for? What have I to do with them more?”—*Past and Present*, p. 103.

Their “fearful firesides and nightly alarm of massacre.” This is uttered of us by one, who lives in constant insecurity, in the metropolis of the British Empire, amidst elements as combustible and as dangerous as the powder magazine at Woolwich. Throughout the slaveholding States, there is, properly speaking, no rural police. Their patrol regulations, if there were real danger, would be utterly inefficient, even if the duties required by them were duly performed; but those duties are everywhere neglected, or performed with the utmost irregularity, and in the most careless manner;—not because they are irksome, but because the labour is regarded as unnecessary. Even in many cities and towns of the South, the police regulations are not enforced with much more strictness. Let us now inquire if we are the only people who have fearful firesides, and not only nightly, but daily alarms of massacre. The city of London, with its six thousand professional thieves, constantly on the watch for opportunities to plunder, is guarded night and day by a police force, amounting to five thousand five hundred and twenty-five men. About 3,700 men are on duty all night and about 1,800 all day. During the night, they never cease patrolling the whole time they are on duty, being forbidden even to sit down. So perfect is the arrangement, that every

street, road, lane, alley and court in the metropolis—except that part called “the city of London,” which contains about one-twentieth of the population, and is under a separate organization—with a population of two and a half millions, is visited constantly, day and night, by some of the police. Within a circle of six miles from St. Pauls, the patrol beats are ordinarily traversed, in periods varying from seven to twenty-five minutes, and there are points which are never free from inspection.* So that it requires a guard, equal in number to one half the regular army of the United States, to enable the good people of London to walk safely by day, and sleep without fear at night; when the patrol law of South-Carolina—and we believe that it is not essentially different in the other Southern States—requires some three or four persons, to ride through each patrol beat, which is commonly from ten to fifteen miles in circuit, once in two weeks; and even this duty, light as it is, is often evaded, because *we* have not “fearful firesides,” nor “nightly alarms of massacre.”

The reviewer, after repeating all the ill-tempered, unfounded and improbable charges of Northern abolitionists against us, which suited his purpose, and drawing inferences from them, the most offensive and irritating—coolly sums up what he conceives to be our reasons against the emancipation of our slaves, and dismisses them summarily by referring us “boldly to the results of emancipation of the negro, in every case where it has been tried, either in their own Liberia, or to the freedmen in their own States (Northern)—who in spite of every effort to degrade them and keep them back, have yet got on, so that no one can scrupulously and honestly compare their condition with that of the slave”—and “to the results of emancipation in our own colonies.” We have too little space left to discuss the comparative conditions of the slave and the free black in the Northern States: we will, therefore, to make our reply as brief as possible, cite much better authority, on this subject, than the prejudiced opinion of an English abolitionist, and give the

* See Edinburgh Review, for July, 1852. Art. 1.—*The Police System of London.*

conclusions of those on the spot, who see the liberated slave as he is, in his every-day garb, stripped of the illusion which distance has thrown around him, oppressed by his very liberty, unsusceptible of improvement—an idle, worthless vagabond.

The Cincinnati Daily Commercial, in commenting on the action of the Constitutional Convention of Indiana, held in 1850, which provided that no negro or mulatto should be permitted to settle in that State, makes the following observations :

“Pennsylvania is taking steps to prevent negroes from harbouring within her limits. Virginia is taking steps to drive the free negroes from her borders ; Kentucky will follow suit also ; and if Ohio puts no obstruction in the way of this prospective immigration of free negroes, the state will soon be in a deplorable condition ! white labourers will have to give place to a pestiferous class of ignorant blacks—even the free blacks themselves, who are to the ‘manor born,’ will be foisted from their places, and crime, misery and want, be increased to a fearful extent within our boundaries. Considering the growing impudence of the negro population in Ohio, founded in ignorance, and increased yearly by the action of demagogical partisans—who seek office by fair or foul means—we are not sure, but the Convention now assembled here to revise our Constitution, will utterly fail of affecting any thing, unless a similar action to that of Indiana be had.”

And the New-York Herald, in an article on “the African Race at the North,” thus describes the poverty and degradation of the free negroes in New-York :

“All persons having a shade of philanthropy in their composition, must have that feeling excited by witnessing the poverty and degradation in which the African race exist in this city. Systematically shut out from all mechanical pursuits, and expelled from almost all the inferior positions they were once allowed to hold here, they have seen their places filled by Germans and Irish ; and now there are not more than half a dozen occupations in which they can engage. Even as waiters in our hotels—one of their last and best strongholds left them—they find that they are constantly losing ground, by the abler competition of immigrants from Europe. This expulsion of the negroes from almost every branch of industry, has had its natural effect in thinning their numbers. And while during the last ten years they have increased in

the Southern States at the ratio of thirty per cent.; the negro population of this State has fallen from fifty to forty-seven thousand."

If we had not seen in the article under review, both what preceded and what followed the cool suggestion of the writer and the arguments he uses, for referring us *boldly to the results of West India Emancipation*, we might well have supposed that he was jesting on this grave subject. We cannot believe that he is ignorant of the disastrous results of emancipation in the British and French West India Islands. We must, therefore, either refer what he says, to blind prejudice, which obstinately shuts its eyes to disagreeable truths, or to the most heartless disregard of the feelings, the interests, the political, social and religious well-being of others. In the midst of plenty, security and happiness, with agricultural productions, feeding, clothing, and giving employment to millions of the human race, we are advised that all this is nothing, when compared with the superlative importance of carrying out an abolition idea—that it is our duty, as men and christians, to surrender our fruitful territory to the jungle and the forest, that the black man may return to his original barbarism—to want, misery, and terror. That is simply the proposition. The two races, from all experience and induction, cannot live together as equals. Extermination of the black, or expatriation of the white man, is the only alternative. The first, no right-feeling man has ever dreamed of, and the last must follow; as the absorption of the black race by the white is impossible; and if amalgamation could take place, the higher race would be swallowed up in the lower.

Ever since this fatal measure of emancipation passed the British legislature, the British West India Islands have been constantly retrograding in the scale of value and importance to the mother country. The negroes, obeying their well-known instinct of animal sluggishness, which no effort can eradicate, and no education improve, have gradually withdrawn themselves from the estates on which they were formerly employed, and fixing, as the amount of their daily labour, the minimum of time, which, if occupied, would just

enable them to live, they now exhibit a picture of indolence and inactivity almost as revolting as that which characterizes their kindred fellows in Hayti. West India property is consequently so depreciated that the administration of England has been greatly annoyed by the continued complaints of those connected with that interest. Various measures have been successively tried, short of absolute coercion, to stimulate the negro to industry—high wages, the establishment of schools for the education of his children, the institution of societies to foster and reward him for any exhibition of talent. But all these attempts have proved abortive; his native, ingrained disinclination to manual or intellectual exertion is unconquerable. Indeed, in very many cases, a bad result followed these benevolent measures of the home and local governments; for, as the negro observed the anxiety to rouse his activity, the conviction gradually made its way to his obtuse intellect, that his labour was all-important. His cupidity was excited, without being followed by a corresponding development of his industry, and he became doubly exorbitant in his demand for wages. All this was true ten years ago,* after the experiment of emancipation had been in operation five years. Is it equally true now, after ten other years have been added to the experiment? We make the following extract from an article in the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, published in May, 1851, as to the condition of things in the island of Jamaica, as they appeared to the writer at that time, and we do this the more readily, as it comes from a quarter from whence no one would have reason to infer any undue prejudice against the British experiment:

“The chief of police in the city of Kingston, on the island of Jamaica, is a coloured man. He formerly belonged to Mr. Stephenson, of Virginia, ran away to Canada, and thence made his way on a sailing vessel to Jamaica, where he became popular with the authorities, and was promoted to this post of honour. He was dissatisfied with the

* We are indebted for the above summary of the results of British Emancipation to an article in the “*New-Orleans Tropic*,” republished in “the *Globe*,” June, 1843.

island, and said he would prefer living with his master in Virginia, if he could be reinstated in his home and confidence. His testimony, corroborated by thousands of walking witnesses, who flock around passengers on shore for charity, was, that he had never seen a coloured community in slave States so debased, so indolent, so vicious, and so impoverished, as are the free negroes of Jamaica. We could not doubt this man's testimony. A walk about the once flourishing and beautiful city, and a ride through the country, every moment introduced corroborating facts, in the persons of a ragged rabble of men, women and children, some crowding the docks, or flocking after you in the streets, or lounging upon the sidewalks and lanes, the most miserable beings in appearance that we had ever seen, and, in truth, had ever conceived.

"Relieved of slave servitude by the emancipation act of Parliament, the coloured people of Jamaica, on whom the sugar planters relied for labour, have misconceived the idea of freedom, and seemingly, and in truth, shown themselves totally indifferent to all its duties, obligations and principles. They have, in a good measure, abandoned labour, and made their chief dependence upon the bounties of nature, in her fruits. The result naturally followed—an abandonment of the plantations to the blight of the thistle and the weed, and to a most consuming depreciation in value. Plantations which yielded a princely revenue a few years ago, were pointed out; the buildings, which bore the last vestige of elegance and taste, crumbling and tottering; fences demolished; shrubbery destroyed, and the soil given to the growth of the cactus and the grazing of the mule. Universal *freedom* is there, it is true, everywhere and around; and so are universal misery among the population, and a universal blight upon all that once made up an island paradise."

We had intended to examine the works of Lord Stanley and Mr. Bigelow,* on the present condition of the British West Indies, but we must content ourselves with two short extracts from the works of the former, which, though brief, are full of instruction and warning. The first is from the Report of the Guiana Commissioners in relation to the negroes on the "Arabian Coast," (cited by Lord Stanley,) who say: "Some cultivate their own provision grounds, and thereby obtain partial support, which they eke out by fishing and thieving; others go occasionally to the 'Essequibo

* These works were reviewed in the Southern Quarterly Review for April, 1853.

coast,' work for a month or two, and then return and sit down in almost total idleness. Their working upon the plantations on the coast is only when sheer necessity compels them. The young people are growing up in a state the most dangerous to social order and the well-being of society." And Lord Stanley adds, "From the depredations here spoken of, there is little to be feared since there will soon be nothing left for them to steal: but the moral condition above described is well worthy of remark." Again he says: "The little luxuries in food and dress for which the Creole in former years was willing to work, and the harmless vanity of indulging in which was wisely encouraged as an incentive to exertion, have now ceased to attract. Their life is the life of savages—shunning the face of the white man, ever seeking to escape farther into the primeval forest, and casting off alike the restraints and the decencies of civilization.

As we prefer to offer the evidence of those who have witnessed this experiment of British emancipation, still presented for our adoption by the English reviewer, to anything we can say, we give the following account of Kingston, copied in the *Charleston Mercury*, of June, 1853, from the correspondence of the *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer*:

"It is difficult to give an idea of the general appearance of Kingston. The houses look as if they had been built hundreds of years ago, and lean in all directions. They are mostly of wood, and the interiors are finished without any pretension to ornament. The rafters and beams, roughly whitewashed, can always be seen; one rough coat of dingy-looking plaster covers the walls; the windows are without glass, and the doors and shutters appear tumbling every way at once. The streets are neither paved nor lighted, though fire hydrants and pumps, stoutly chained and pad-locked, are to be seen on every corner. The police and soldiery are all black, the houses are black, the furniture is black, the eatables are black—every thing is black. Whole streets are uninhabited, and upon house after house was pasted, 'this house to let.' Upon inquiry, I found that a remarkable fine house, for Kingston, could be had for six dollars a month, and many were let as low as two or three dollars. The streets are narrow, and, take it all in all, I can only compare Kingston to the 'Five Points' in the worst days of that degraded locality."

Such is a portion of the evidence before us of this disastrous experiment of British emancipation—disastrous in every aspect in which it can be viewed—whether we regard it in a social, political or financial light. Nor has it succeeded better in the French colonies. In 1848 the doctrines of “Liberty, equality and Fraternity,” were extended to them,* and they have retrograded in the same manner, and their history would be but a repetition of the same deplorable results, as we have shown to be true of the British West Indies. In proof of this assertion, we give the following extracts from an article in the New-York Courier and Enquirer, in April last, entitled “Abolition in Cayenne,” and we have reason to believe that the same state of things exist in the other French colonies :

“The ruin brought upon the French colony of Cayenne by the Emancipation act of the French republic of 1848, was set forth in vivid colours in a sketch published by us a month since, from the hands of J. W. Fabens, late U. S. Consul in that country. It was there shown, that a colony with twice as much territory as the State of New-York, with a healthy and agreeable climate, capable of producing, in the greatest profusion, many of the most valuable articles of commerce, lying at the mouth of the largest river in the world, and possessing singular advantages for extensive and most profitable trade, has been completely beggared by a legislative act of mistaken philanthropy. Its sugar plantations, which once yielded five millions of pounds, its cotton plantations once yielding nearly half a million of pounds, its clove plantations yielding half a million of pounds, its annato plantations furnishing for export a million of pounds, and all its other fields of industry, are fast relapsing into unwholesome wilds; and its once well-ordered, prosperous and happy society, has been converted into a motley, squalid, vicious, work-hating, poverty-stricken, reckless rabble.”

* We were amused, at the time it occurred, with the sly humour contained in the following passage, which took place between two Parisians shortly after the emancipation of the blacks in the French West Indies.

“Voilà des philanthropes sans ouvrage. Que vout'ils devenir ?

“Oh ! rassurez-vous, et tenez pour certain qu'ils trouveront toujours à s'occuper.”

“Mais pourtant, qu'auront-ils à faire, maintenant que les noirs sont émancipés ?

“Eh bien ! maintenant, ils vout travailler à l'émancipation des singes.”

"We have now before us," continues the Editor, "a manuscript copy of a memorial from one of the first of the few remaining colonists; from which—to show the miserable condition to which the colony is reduced—we translate the following:

"Our fertile deserts are occasioned only by the want of workmen, and of an original system of labour. What we would propose to France is this: That she shall expatriate all the inhabitants of French Guiana, and indemnify the unfortunate proprietors for their possessions. Master of the entire country, she may thus, with one hand, deal out a tardy justice to these colonists; so unfortunate, yet so resigned; and, with the other, beckon the miserable convicts to a better and happier prospect of existence. We would recommend that the present rural population (black) be made to evacuate the small plantations where they are now squatting;—veritable haunts of vagabonds, drunkards and debauchees, and that this population be centred on the large and productive estates, where a system of industry may be established without exorbitant outlay. We believe that this purchase can be effected for the sum of \$1,700,000. Already \$1,000,000 has been expended with no good result."

"Here," resumes the Editor, "we see a proposition, made evidently after mature deliberation, to surrender to the mother country the whole cultivated territory of Cayenne, which once supported twenty thousand Frenchmen in affluence, for less than one and three-fourths millions, and to abandon it entirely to the possession of the convict and negro population. No better illustration could be given of the desperate extremity to which these colonists are reduced. Emancipation has ruined the master, and worked no good to the slave. The condition of the latter in Cayenne was never one of hardship. The condition now is hardly above that of the savages of the interior of Africa. They have turned their liberty into an independence of everything that distinguishes man from the brute."

Such facts as those we have mentioned, were as well known to the reviewer as to us, for no educated Englishman can be ignorant of the hopeless condition of the "emancipated" West Indies. When urged by envy, hatred and malice, and all uncharitableness, (for we can assign no other motives,) he would convert our favoured land, in the forcible language of Carlyle, "into a Black Ireland—'free', indeed, but an Ireland, and black!" "Our own white or sallow Ire-

land," Carlyle continues, "sluttishly starving from age to age on its Act-of-Parliament 'freedom,' was hitherto the flower of mismanagement among the nations; but what will this be to a negro Ireland, with pumpkins themselves fallen scarce like potatoes? Imagination cannot fathom such an object. The human mind, in its wild wanderings, has not dreamt of such a 'freedom' as that will be."—*Occasional Discourse,*" &c.

We wish we could devote more space to the quaint but admirable letter of Carlyle to Frazer's Magazine. We cannot forbear giving, however, a few brief but remarkable extracts—remarkable, not only for their deep insight into the true condition of things in the emancipated West Indies; but remarkable also for the boldness which *would* expose *such truths* to the unwilling eyes of his countrymen.

"And now observe, my friends, it was not Black Quashee, or those he represents, that made those West India Islands what they are, or can, by any hypothesis, be considered to have the right of growing pumpkins there. For countless ages, and till the European white man first saw them, some three short centuries ago, those islands had produced mere jungle, savagery, poison-reptiles, and swamp-malaria: till the white European first saw them, they were as if not yet created; their noble elements of cinnamon, sugar, coffee, pepper, black and grey, lying all asleep, waiting the white enchanter, who should say to them, awake! Till the end of human history and the sounding of the trump of doom, they might have lain so, had Quashee and the like of him, been the only artists in the game. Swamps, fever jungles. man-eating Caribs, rattle-snakes, and reeking waste and putrefaction; this had been the produce of them under the incompetent Caribal, possessors till that time; and Quashee knows himself whether ever he could have introduced an improvement. Him, had he by a miraculous chance been wafted thither, the Caribals would have eaten, rolling him as a fat morsel under the tongue; for him, till the sounding of the trump of doom, the rattle-snakes and savageries would have held on their way. It was not he, then; it was another than he! Never, by art of his, could one pumpkin have grown there to solace any human throat; nothing but savagery and reeking putrefaction could have grown there. These plentiful pumpkins, I say, therefore, are not his; no, they are another's; they are only his under conditions—conditions which Exeter

Hall, for the present, has forgotten; but which nature and the Eternal Powers have by no manner of means forgotten, but do at all moments keep in mind; and at the right moment, will, with the due impressiveness, perhaps in rather a terrible manner, bring again to our mind also!

"If Quashee will not honestly aid in bringing those sugars, cinnamons, and nobler products of the West Indian Islands, for the benefit of all mankind, then, I say, neither will the powers permit Quashee to continue growing pumpkins there for his own lazy benefit; but will sheer him out, by and by, like a lazy gourd overshadowing rich ground, him, and all that partake with him—perhaps in a very terrible manner. Quashee, if he will not help in bringing out the spices, will get himself made a slave again, (which state will be a little less ugly than his present one,) and with beneficent whip, since other methods avail not, will be compelled to work. Or, alas, let him look across to Hayti, and trace a far sterner prophecy! Let him, by his ugliness, idleness, rebellion, banish all white men from the West Indies, and make it all one Hayti—with little or no sugar growing, black Peter exterminating black Paul; and where a garden of the Hesperides might be, nothing but a tropical dog-kennel and pestiferous jungle!

"On the whole, it ought to be rendered possible, ought it not, for white men to live beside black men, and in some just manner to command black men, and produce West Indian fruitfulness by means of them? West Indian fruitfulness will need to be produced. If the English cannot find the method for that, they may rest assured there will another come (Brother Jonathan, or still another) who can. He it is whom the gods will bid continue in the West Indies, bidding *us*, ignominiously, Depart, ye quack-ridden, incompetent!"—*Occasional Discourse, &c. Frazer's Magazine.*

We here take leave of the English reviewer. The people of these Southern States, we believe, are fully awake to the duties and the responsibilities which they owe to themselves, their country, and to the black race, placed under their charge; and, we hope, they are prepared to encounter the difficulties and dangers which beset them. Appreciating, to their fullest extent, these duties and responsibilities, these difficulties and dangers of an institution for which we, of the present generation, are not responsible, but which we have interwoven with every fibre of our social and political fabric; we would be unwilling to exchange the ills we know, for such as Providence seems to have allotted to others. When

amongst us, "fathers and mothers in Stockport hunger-cellars begin to eat their children, and Irish widows have to prove their relationship by dying of typhus-fevers;* when dark millions of God's creatures start up in mad chartisms and Manchester insurrections;—when all human dues and reciprocities have been fully changed into one great due of *cash payment*;—when man's duty to man reduces itself to handing him certain metal coins or covenanted money-wages, and then shoving him out of doors; and man's duty to God becomes a cant, a doubt, or dim inanity—then, we will admit, that *our* institutions, too, have failed.

A portion of the civilized world, like a part of our own North, "sunk in deep froth-oceans of 'Benevolence,' 'Fraternity,' 'Emancipation-principle,' 'Christian Philanthropy,' and other most amiable-looking, but most baseless, and, in the end, baleful and all-bewildering jargon"—seems to be growing utterly rabid on the question of slavery. We cannot predict what may be the results of the circulation of Mrs. Stowe's book in this country, and her extraordinary reception and apotheosis in England by the Duchess of Sutherland, and the five hundred and sixty-two thousand signers to "The Address;" but we may rationally infer, in the ordinary nature of things, that objects so inflated are more mischievous in their immediate effects, than either useful in their results, or lasting in their consequences; for "all balloons do and must give up

"One of Dr. Alison's Scotch facts struck us much. A poor Irish widow, her husband having died in one of the lanes of Edinburgh, went forth with her three children, bare of all resource, to solicit help from the charitable establishments of that city. At this charitable establishment, and then at that she was refused; referred from one to the other, helped by none; till she had exhausted them all; till her strength and heart failed her: she sank down in typhus fever; died, and infected her lane with fever, so that 'seventeen other persons' died of fever there in consequence. The humane physician asks thereupon, as with a heart too full for speaking, would it not have been *economy* to help this poor widow? She took typhus fever, and killed seventeen of you! Very curious. The forlorn Irish widow applies to her fellow creatures, as if saying, 'Behold, I am sinking, bare of help: ye must help me! I am your sister, bone of your bone; one God made us; ye must help me!' They answer, 'No, impossible; thou art no sister of ours.' But she proves her sisterhood; her typhus fever kills *them*: they actually were her brothers, though denying it! Had man ever to go lower for a proof?"—*Past and Present*, p. 105.

their gas in the pressure of things, and are collapsed in a sufficiently wretched manner before long."

There are still very many minds at the North not yet possessed by the "madness of folly," on the subject of slavery, and who regard the question in much the same light that we do; but in England it seems to have extended to all ranks and conditions, to all ages and sexes; from the *philanthropic* Dutchess, to the wretched sweep. We are able, however, to point with satisfaction to two distinguished exceptions: to the London Times, the ablest newspaper in the world; and to Thomas Carlyle, the greatest, the wisest, and the bravest living English author, with whose words of deep and solemn import—and which we commend to the consideration of all earnest and thinking men—we will close this article.

"Liberty, I am told, is a divine thing. Liberty, when it becomes the liberty to die by starvation, is not so divine! The true liberty of a man, you would say, consisted in his finding out, or being forced to find out, the right path, and to walk therein. To learn, or to be taught what work he actually was able for, and then, by permission, persuasion, and even compulsion, to set about doing of the same! That is his true blessedness, honour, liberty, and maximum of well-being: if liberty be not that, I, for one, have small care about liberty. You do not allow a palpable madman to leap over precipices; you violate his liberty, you that are wise; and keep him, were it in a straight-waistcoat, away from precipices! Every stupid, every cowardly and foolish man, is but a less palpable madman: his true liberty were, that a wiser man, that any and every wiser man could, by brass collars, or in whatever milder and sharper way, lay hold of him, when he was going wrong, and order and compel him to go a little righter. Oh! if thou really art my senior, my elder, presbyter, or priest—if thou art in very deed my Wiser, may a beneficent instinct lead and impel thee to 'conquer' me, and to command me! If thou do know better than I what is good and right, I conjure thee, in the name of God, force me to do it; were it by never such brass collars, whips and handcuffs, leave me not to walk over precipices! That I have been called by all the newspapers a 'free man' will avail me little, if my pilgrimage have ended in death and wreck. Oh, that the newspapers had called me slave, coward, fool, or what it pleased their sweet voices to name me, and I had attained not death, but life! Liberty requires new definitions.

"Of all paths a man could strike into, there is at any given moment a *best path* for every man; a thing which here and now, it were of all things wisest for him to do. This path, to find this path and walk in it, is the one thing needful for him. Whatsoever forward him in that, let it come to him even in the shape of blows and spurnings, is liberty: whatsoever hinders him, were it ward-motes, oven-vestries, poll-booths, tremendous cheers, rivers of heavy wet, is slavery.

"The notion that a man's liberty consists in giving his vote at election hustings, and saying—'Behold, now I too have my twenty-thousandth part of a talker in our national palaver,' is one of the pleasantest. The liberty especially which has to purchase itself by social isolation, and each standing separate from the other, having 'no business with him,' but a cash account; this is such a liberty as the earth seldom saw; as the earth will not long put up with, recommend it how you may. This liberty turns out, before it have long continued in action, with all men flinging up their caps round it, to be for the working a liberty to die for the want of food; for the idle thousands and units, alas, a still more fatal liberty, to live in want of work; to have no earnest duty to do in this God's world any more. What becomes of a man in such a predicament? Earth's laws are silent, and Heaven's speak in a voice which is not heard. No work and the ineradicable need of work, give rise to new very wondrous life-philosophies, new very wondrous life-practices. Brethren, we know but imperfectly yet, after ages of constitutional government, what liberty and what slavery is." *Past and Present*, pp. 148, 152. J.

ART. 4.—MAURY ON SOUTH AMERICA AND AMAZONIA.

1. *The Memorial of M. F. MAURY*, a Lieutenant in the United States Navy, to the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress. Washington : 1852.
2. *The Amazon and the Atlantic slopes of South America* ; a series of letters, published in the National Intelligencer and Union newspapers, under the signature of "Inca." By M. F. MAURY, L.L.D., Lieutenant U. S. Navy. Washington : Published by Frank. Taylor. 1853.
3. *Memoir on the Physical and Political Geography of New Granada*. By General T. C. MOSQUERA. Translated from the Spanish by THEODORE DWIGHT. Published by T. Dwight. New-York : 1853.
4. *DeBow's Review*, for 1853.
5. *Buenos Ayres and the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata* ; from their discovery and conquest by the Spaniards to the establishment of their political independence ; with some account of their present state, debt, etc. ; an appendix of historical and statistical documents, and a description of the geology and fossil monsters of the Pampas. By Sir WOODBINE PARISH, K.C.H., F.R.S., G.S., Vice-President of the Royal Geographical Society of London, and many years Chargé d'Affaires of H.B.M. at Buenos Ayres. Second edition, enlarged, with new map and illustrations. London : John Murray. 1852.
6. *Para, or Scenes and Adventures on the Banks of the Amazon*. By JOHN ESAIAS WARREN. New-York : G. P. Putnam. 1851.
7. *Prescott's Conquest of Peru*. New-York.
8. *Travels in Brazil in the years 1815, 1816, 1817*. By PRINCE MAXIMILIAN, of Wied-Nenwied. Illustrated with plates. Part 1st. London : 1820.
9. *Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States, &c.*, with an Appendix. Three volumes. By J. D. B. DEBOW, Professor, &c. 1852.

THE presentation of a memorial to Congress, by an individual, the objects of which are no ways selfish—which

entreats nothing for the memorialist, and the results of which can yield him nothing:—which, in fact, contemplates the good of the country only, and involves not a single object of the petitioner;—is an event at once highly curious and creditable. The character of petitions to Congress, ordinarily, is of a very different complexion; and we do not know, indeed, but that Lieut. Maury may incur the peril of being very much laughed at for the extreme and irrational character of his simplicity. We have become so knowing a people, that a real exhibition of patriotism implies something like natural verdancy; and whatever degree of respect the possessor may command, in behalf of his virtue, will be likely to be too moderate to neutralize the contempt which is inspired by his ignorance. Were the patriotism spurious, on the face of it, we should be better prepared to acknowledge the professor's right to our consideration. It would only show that he knew and was prepared to play the game like other people. But, surely, there is something very absurd, in such a world as ours, in honestly devoting oneself to the common cause, without first seeing that proper provision is made for the patriot! Lieut. Maury has really perilled his petition by his disinterestedness. Had he asked for something for himself, he would have been better prepared to share the spoils with his neighbour, and would not be regarded, in the atrocious attitude of a person, ambitious of more virtue than falls to the common share. He exhibits himself to us in the usual light of the student, who thinks quite too much of his subject, and the labour in his thought, to be able to devote any of his thought selfishly; but, verily, students are as little needed, in the political world, seemingly, as patriots, and were our petitioner less profound and thoughtful, and less patriotic, he would in all probability be so much nigher to the attainment of his object. But, without looking farther to his chances of getting possession of the ear of Congress, let us see what are the arguments in respect to the subject matter of his petition.

The agricultural and mineral capabilities of large portions of the Atlantic slopes of South America, and the consequent commercial benefits necessarily to accrue from the proper

development of them, aided by liberal terms of national intercourse, are not novelties of the present day. They have been long known, and by the intelligent and far seeing, long appreciated. Sebastian Cabot* in 1627-'28, explored the rivers Parana and Paraguay, and from the Indians received the first specimens of gold and silver from Peru: soon after, Cabeza de Vaca marched across Brazil,—and Yrala, the true conqueror of that region, penetrated to the “confines of Peru.” These expeditions, followed by others, exhibited a view of much of the country, watered by the affluents of the great Rio de la Plata. The party of Gonzalez Pizarro, in 1540,† from Tinto, passed through the “Land of Cinnamon,” to the waters of the Amazon; and the earliest navigation, by civilized man, of that monarch of streams—that of Francisco de Orellana, during the same year, floating even to the mouth, and sailing thence to Spain, exposed to European knowledge, a benign climate, a fertile soil, and a varied and magnificent natural production, which were not equalled by any known part of the globe. Much was‡ hidden by the jealous rulers of the mother country. Yet enough was divulged to awaken the interest of mankind.

British sagacity, stimulated at that early day by mercantile cupidity, perceived the splendid prize. Lethargic in assisting, or encouraging generously the great navigators of that era, she still determined to reap some fruit from their labours, which her indolence or parsimony had diverted to the glory and the advantage of Spain. And, from the romantic expeditions of Sir Walter Raleigh, at the close of the sixteenth, and the beginning of the seventeenth centu-

* For these several facts regarding the La Plata country, see a valuable and interesting volume, by Sir Woodbine Parish. London: 1852. Three first chapters.

† Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, vol. 2d, chapter fourth. In a note to p. 166, he says a more remarkable expedition was performed down the Amazon by a woman—Madame Godin—in 1789. Her boat was wrecked. Her party one by one perished in the march. She was alone, but the Indians succored, and carried her to a French settlement. Her hardships and terrors turned her hair white, although a young woman. But she lived to meet her husband.

Orellana called the river the Amazon, because he was opposed in his descent by women armed with bow and arrow. Condamine said there was reason to believe in the existence of a community of armed women on the Amazon.

‡ See Parish's book.

ries, no effort has been spared to secure, at least, commercial profits, from the development of the wonderful resources of South-America. In alluding to this subject, one of her writers said,* more than forty years ago, “witness the importance, which, throughout the history of our commerce, we find attached to the contraband trade with the Spanish Main,—the contract on which so much stress was laid in the treaty of Utrecht * * * the greater importance attached to the possession of the Falkland Islands, and the weight ascribed to Trinidad, in the treaty of Amiens.” Let us urge the more recent transactions at Buenos Ayres, in 1806-’7, under Sir Howe Popham, and Generals Beresford and White-locke, in which England was ingloriously repulsed. To which, in illustration, may be added the secret or open encouragement given to the aspirations of Miranda,† sometimes bordering upon, if not committing, an infraction of treaty stipulations with Spain;—the ardent desire for the emancipation of the Spanish colonies, not from any regard for the enjoyment by man, of his birthright of liberty, but to induce the promotion of her own gain, by destroying the restrictive commercial policy of the Spanish Court :—and, finally, her treaty with the Argentine Confederation in 1825, and her uniform conduct to the colonies since the establishment of their independence. These facts, running through centuries of time, having one unvaried object, consistently and perseveringly pursued, manifest very clearly both the value of the resources of South America, and the interest which England has cherished, and still cherishes, in her affairs. France has repeatedly shown similar interest, which need not be traced. Comparatively little has been done, however, for that great country. The outskirts have been settled, and some inland points, on rivers and amid the mineral hills, have been occupied; the ground, as it were, has been

* *Edinburgh Review*, for 1809. It may be said, that the “contract” in the treaty of Utrecht, was to furnish the colonies with *African slaves*! It was permitted to send 1200 a year, and get pay in produce. Smuggling was introduced on an extensive scale. Resistance was made to the inspection of ships. The contract began in 1715—but England behaved so outrageously, that Spain broke it entirely in 1739. See *Parish*.

† *Edinburgh Review*, 1809.

scratched for diamonds, and for the precious metals: but agriculture is neglected, and the garden spot of the earth is little better than a wilderness. The interior forests have rarely echoed to the sound of the pioneer's axe. The rich soil, accumulating for countless ages, and overspread by a genial alternation of sunshine and of shower, remains in its primeval virginity. The delightful climate, maturing in perfection the fruits, and the usual growth of the tropics, dispenses its bounties to the inert Spaniard or Portuguese—to the careless Indian, and to the lazy negro. The rivers, of capacity to float the commerce of the world, roll their ceaseless tides for thousands and thousands of miles, through solitudes, seldom broken by the hum of busy man. The rude raft, the clumsy barque, the canoe of the casual fisherman or hunter, until very* recently, were the only craft that floated upon those majestic streams. Three hundred years possession by the *pseudo* civilized man, have yet afforded scarce a mark of solid progress! The varied arts—the pressing industrial energies—the commercial activity of present civilization, which, “like the quality of mercy, bless him that gives and him that takes,” have been practically unknown. Indeed the population of that beautiful and most valuable section of the globe, have proved themselves utterly destitute of the genuine spirit of a conquering or conserving race.

Almost from the period of the discovery† of America, the Spaniards and Portuguese have been degenerating as peoples, and declining in the scale of nations. Transplanted to the new world, which the right of discovery consigned to them in part, and owners of many of its fairest portions, they observed the most contracted and monopolizing views of international intercourse, and disregarded the plainest precepts of political economy. They were priest-ridden out of all heroic sentiment—their earlier chivalry, noted over

* A steamboat has been on the Amazon once, perhaps, within the year. The first one for La Plata, &c., is on the way there now.

† Without going farther, we refer to Edward Everett's lecture in New-York, on the 1st June, 1853. It is an interesting and beautiful account of the discovery and settlement of America.

Europe, was extinguished. They were crushed by despotic institutions, and in the end, their *morale* was destroyed. Their action was confined almost entirely to individual enterprize, and this enterprize, not like that of the Anglo Saxon race, directed to the acquisition of land, and the organization of communities under wise regulations, but to the single aim of amassing* money. Their purposes were sordid, and the motive power was less frequently one of honest and consistent industry, than a fixed system of plunder. The victims of it were not always the helpless aborigines,† for the feebleness of their own country were often rifled without remorse. When favourable circumstances permitted these descendants of the proud Castilian to shake off the tyranny of the mother country, they attempted a sort of bastard imitation of the example of the more vigorous North Americans. But the frequent revolutions, and the relapses into anarchy, demonstrate that they cannot harmonize‡ upon any scheme of stable government. Therefore, they appear to be altogether unadapted to the laborious and skillful processes, of converting a great country from a state of passive, although generous nature, into one which industry and art would regenerate and embellish, which the wings of a reciprocal commerce would enrich and enlighten, and which free principles of government, and their just observance and application, would elevate and ennoble.

Great Britain, formerly, was too constantly engaged in war—expensive always, and sometimes dangerous, to effect much single handed, toward ameliorating the condition of South America, by trying to alter the exclusive notions of her possessors. Since the independence of the colonies, her efforts have been unremitting, and some success has been the result. France was similarly engrossed, and in the intervals of conflict, she was too inveterate a rival of Eng-

* Sir W. Parish's book.

† Prescott's Peru, 2d vol., 247-'8—"The dominant passion of the Spaniard was the lust of gold." See paper of Las Casas, and his testimony before the council of Valladolid. See Sir W. Parish for the robberies of one another.

‡ Prescott, vol. 2d, p. 205—"Sad it is, but not strange, that the length of time passed under a bad government, has not qualified him for devising a good one."

land, to be called in co-operation, and alone she was equally impotent. The United States recently sprang into independent existence, were perhaps very justly overlooked. They had been maturing the bone and muscle of vigorous infancy, and were not offended at the neglect. But they have now advanced with unexampled rapidity to a position among the first powers. Their equality in the great race of national grandeur, arising from progress in the increase of territory, wealth, population; in the industrial and refining arts; in extent of commercial operations; in military and moral strength; in a word, in civilization, their equality is conceded. These three are the controlling countries of the world. For the peaceful progress of mankind, a union of their councils, and a combination of effort, must inevitably lead to the happiest ends. Their joint influence will subdue the characteristic obstinacy of the Portuguese and Spaniard, or conciliate their liberality, when redounding to the pecuniary advantage and political importance of those peoples, or, by diplomatic correspondence, enlighten their ignorance of the rules of international comity. Something has already been accomplished. The lethargy of three centuries is at length broken. The various republics of South-America are awakening from stupefaction to the controlling ideas and the pressing necessities of the present age. The treaty with Paraguay, so long benighted under a real autocracy, is an auspicious event. The action of Peru and Bolivia, and other States, affords high promise for the future. Brazil is yet in the vapour of stullification, but the mist must be dispelled by the broad rays of intelligence. She cannot resist them. When accomplished, and the effects of free settlement and free commerce become manifest, a new era will dawn upon the world. An extraordinary impulse will be given to the physical, the social, and the moral advancement of the human species, when South America assumes the position to which she seems destined.

The subject of South America and her resources, always interesting, has been presented to the public of recent years, in several valuable books—comprising sketches of the country, adventures among its rivers and its bound-

less woods, travels and histories. The credit of reviving, in the United States, the question of the agricultural and commercial benefits to be derived, from developing the natural advantages of the slopes of that country, is eminently due to Lieut. Maury of the Navy. He has been occupied for some time in the government observatory at Washington, where his duty required a close study of the currents of the ocean, and of the winds which traverse it. In following these along the Atlantic, and combining with them and their action the geographical configuration of the semi-continent of South America, and the vast extent of country lying between the Andes and the coast, in the latitude of the tropics, and bounteously watered by numberless navigable water courses, he soon perceived what a glorious section of the world that must inevitably become. His attention was fully attracted to an investigation of the matter. The more he acquired, and the more he reflected, the more thoroughly was his enthusiasm enkindled. His thoughts forced him into utterance. He wrote newspaper essays on Amazonia, memorialized Congress, and, finally, issues quite recently a pamphlet, giving a summary description not only of the Amazon country, but likewise of that drained by the waters of La Plata. Mr. Hopkins has done equally well, and more minutely from personal knowledge, by the republic of Paraguay. The reports of our naval officers, sent to make* an exploration, will ere long be published and our acquaintance with that neglected region will be more complete. Yet Mr. Maury has already presented ample *data* for the action of Congress and the Executive. He has done more. He has furnished to our sagacious and enterprising merchants and manufacturers, hints for profitable adventure, which they will scarcely leave unimproved.

Agriculture, the basis of civilized pursuits, and the noblest of all human avocations, it is very true is of slow growth.

* These officers are Lieuts. Herndon and Gibbon of the Navy. They were not sent exactly, but on the refusal of Brazil to permit an exploration of the Amazon, were ordered from the Pacific where they were, to return home by that river, and note all that was of value on the route. Lieut. Herndon returned and reported. Congress (Senate rather,) directed its publication. It has not reached us. Lieut. Gibbon is still on the way. See Maury's allusions to them.

It does not burst into lusty life in a single day, nor can it accumulate large surpluses of production, under a series of years. Commerce, her handmaid, dependent on these surpluses for nutriment, is necessarily less rapid in advancement. But they are reciprocally stimulative. The one urges to increased industry, to varied application of labour, to skillful adaptation of known arts, in order to induce the largest possible yield from mother earth. The other, when vigorously and successfully prosecuted, excites eager competition;—demands speedy and secure transportation of its fruits;—awakens the genius, which detected the force of steam, and applied the principle to ocean navigation;—applied it again to the iron steed that annihilates distance between inland points, and created the electric telegraph, which outspeeds time itself!

Commerce has other, and, perhaps, not less important influences. While it may be justly argued, that mercantile Phœnicia and Carthage in ancient times, and Venice, Genoa and Portugal in modern, were less refined, the former than Greece and Rome, the latter than France and England, yet it is incontestible that commerce is not only the means and the vehicle of enriching its patrons by the interchange of national products, but likewise of communicating knowledge between nations. Her own country may be, and often is, delivered to sordid acquisition, in disregard of the arts which polish, the military ambition which gives dignity and force of character, and the moral principle which inspires nobility of sentiment and elevation of conception, but she wafts from region to region the discoveries, the inventions, the new ideas and principles of the age. She awakens thought, she arouses latent energies, she breaks the somnolency of remote and solitary people, she instils great principles of social and political freedom, she finally sows all the necessary seed, and imparts all the requisite information for the regeneration of a nation! Her mission is a glorious one, whether reaction tends or not, to the benefaction of her own country. These, two, give birth to the great third power in the prosperity of a people—manufactures. It is subordinate to the others, but is equally necessary in the economy of mankind, and it

exerts a wholesome influence on the prosecution of the other pursuits. All are yet, in great measure, wanting to South America. The elements of the power of each, are only beginning to dawn upon the drowsy intellects of that people, buried for ages in darkness. But this beginning is encouraging. It must be followed up with spirit, and the three enlightened nations of the earth are those to whom Providence seems to have entrusted the duty.

With these preliminary remarks, the principal design of this paper will be approached. The purpose is rather to echo the judicious observations of other writers, already published, on the advantages of the settlement and the energetic cultivation of the Atlantic slopes of South America, than to pretend to offer original views. In the main, a hearty concurrence is yielded to what Maury, Hopkins and others, have advanced; and their conclusions are commended to the earnest attention of the reader. When any difference of view arises, it will be discussed with fairness, and our reasons, whether sound or not, in the judgment of others, will be presented frankly, and without reserve or distortion.

South America is situated between the deg. of 12 north, and 54 south latitude; and between about 43 east, and 5 deg. west longitude from Washington. All notice of the romantic country of the Incas, a strip of land lying west of the Andes, fifty or sixty miles wide, and running nearly the length of the semi-continent, will be omitted. Likewise, the portion south of the mouth La Plata, (latitude 36 deg. south,) and the northern part, not drained by the waters of the Orinoco. The region to which our inquiry will be confined, includes, therefore, some 46 deg. of latitude, and about 35 of longitude.

The area drained by the waters of the two great rivers, the Amazon and La Plata, is, in square miles, about three millions, including the Orinoco country, which is connected with Amazonia by the Rio Negro, and therefore may, we might say *must*, in time, become tributary to it. This area constitutes the major portion of that territory, which makes South America the richest division of the globe.

La Plata proper is only some two hundred miles long, and

in width varying from* sixty to one hundred and fifty miles. Its principal feeders are, the Uruguay, bounding Brazil on the S. W., and giving name to the State lying between it and the coast; the Banda Oriental del Uruguay: the Parana, rising in Brazil, and skirting the western limits of that empire in its course: the Paraguay, springing from source† in Matto Grosso, within a very few miles of the head streams of the Madeira, which river flows to the Amazon and the Pilcomayo, which rises near Chuquisaca, "Silver City," and not far from Potosi, and courses a thousand miles south eastward, to the Paraguay.

The Buenos Ayres provinces and Uruguay, are the prairie region. There are vast *pampas* extending toward Chili—the natural and ever-green‡ pastures—covered with immense droves of horses and herds of cattle, and susceptible to almost any extent, of rearing these animals, and also the several varieties of sheep. Hundreds of thousands of hides are exported annually. With attention, what a supply of wool might be furnished to the looms of England and America.

Some fifteen hundred miles from the sea, lies the republic of Paraguay, between the parallels of 22 and 28 deg. south latitude. Hopkins describes it as a second Eden. Its surface is diversified with woodlands, and beautiful prairies, and ample water courses. Nearly all the fruits of the tropics grow there in perfection. Its products are various and valuable. Among its sixty varieties of useful and ornamental woods, are the "*seibo trec*," spongy and easily cut like cork when green, but when dry, so hard that steel will scarcely

* Sir W. Parish, 1st chapter. Cabot probably gave this name the "River of Silver" to the Parana, because some twelve hundred miles from the ocean he obtained silver from the Indians. They, however, procured it in Peru.

† The distance is said to be only two and a half miles. Maury, p. 29. A canal could be readily dug to connect them.

‡ Sir W. Parish says that every thing is done on horseback at Buenos Ayres. *Fish are seined* from the saddle! Beggars, licensed by the police, ask for alms on horseback. The horses are so numerous, and so cheaply kept, that no value is attached to them. The *pampas* resemble the prairies of Texas, but in a more humid climate, are of ranker and richer verdure. A Texan calls the prairie his *livery stable*, and a branching live oak his *hotel*.

impress it:—the snake-tree, affording an infallible cure for snake-bites:—the milk-tree-vegetable cow, supplying a liquid not so rich as milk, but a good substitute:—and the drunken (*drunkards*?) tree, a “vegetable distillery.” The “Maine liquor law” could never reach the tipplers there, where nature spontaneously furnishes the alcoholic stimulant in profuse abundance. The question too would arise, if Providence did not emphatically decree the use of “spirits,” since the very trees of the forest distill it perennially to all comers, without money and without price! There are also gums and drugs* of the rarest virtues and of the most exquisite perfume. A resin is yielded at the roots of another tree, which is a natural pitch, in readiness to fill the seams of vessels; and for these the forests supply abundant material. Additionally, there are many medicines and dye-stuffs produced in Paraguay: rhubarb, jalap, sarsaparilla, *bezonia indica*, holywood, dragon’s blood, *copaiva*, *nux vomica*, liquorice and ginger; wild cotton, gutta percha, India rubber, cochineal, several indigos, vermilion, saffron, golden rod, with other plants producing all the tints of dark red, black and green.—(Hopkins.) The climate is a blending of Italy and California, with a healthful and pleasant alternation of refreshing rains and unclouded skies.

Passing farther, to Villa Maria, in Matto Grosso, a Brazilian province, latitude 16 deg. south, you approach the “*ipeacuanha* region.” It is an immense plantation, within one field of three thousand square miles! “The crop is perennial, and may be gathered the year round.” Fifteen pounds may be collected by a single hand per day—it is worth one dollar per pound at Rio Janeiro—and labourers cost only three† or four dollars a month! From 1830 to 1837, eight hundred thousand pounds were carried to Rio; but the transportation is tedious and expensive;—mules are the carriers, and one year is consumed in a single trip of the caravan!

To the north east, and not very far, is Cuyaba, in the midst

* Maury, quoting Hopkins—Hopkins alludes to a tree, the *Lapacho*, timbers from which had been supporting the roofs of houses in Buenos Ayres for more than two hundred years, and gave no signs of decay.

† Maury’s pamphlet.

of gold and precious stones. It is the capital of Matto Grosso. Its commerce, by caravans, consists in hides, deer and jaguar skins, gold dust, diamonds, &c. The freight to Rio is fifteen dollars per hundred pounds! What a change would water communication and steamers produce! And adjacent to navigable streams, what facilities are afforded to employ them! Enterprise alone is wanting.

Still higher up the Cuyaba river, an affluent of the Paraguay, you reach in latitude 11 or 12, Diamantino, the "town of diamonds." These jewels are found scattered in the beds of streams and through the soil. They are found often in the crops of fowls. Eighty millions of dollars worth have already been derived from that region, and its untold riches are scarcely yet discovered! Near this village, the waters of the Amazon and La Plata, were seen flowing from the same farm of Estivado. Diamantino trades with Para, at the mouth of the Amazon. The embarkation point is ten leagues distant, on the Tapajos or the Arinas, flowing into the former. The voyage requires eight months! The merchandize brought up pays an average of eight hundred and fifty per cent. on the cost at Para, and probably nine hundred and fifty per ct. on the prices of N. York or Charleston! Iron is worth at Diamantino five hundred and fifty dollars a ton!* Salt eighteen cents a pound, and flour forty dollars a barrel. These people are immersed in the very blackness of cimmerian night. The energy of a few thousand Anglo-Normans would soon awaken them to the vivid glare of civilized sunlight.

To the westward lies the extensive Republic of Bolivia, one of the finest tropical climates in the world, and including in its productions those of nearly all the habitable portions of the earth. Every variety of clime and soil, and every growth of other regions, may be found there, from the lichens of the polar zone, through the grains of the temperate, to the orange and the pine-apple of the tropics. It is also a great mineral country. It contains Potosi, whence sixteen hundred millions of dollars of silver† have been extracted, and

* Maury's pamphlet.

† Ibid.

ten thousand other mines there and in Peru, rich and practicable, remain neglected and abandoned ! What a stimulus does not this fact furnish to the enterprising and the daring ? And Bolivia too is liberal in her policy. Her only port on the Pacific, Cobija, is an open roadstead, and her products, borne over the mountains to that point, and shipped around Cape Horn, yield but small returns for labour. Half her territory lying in the Amazon Valley, a portion in La Plata, ordinary sagacity shows that her outlet to market is naturally through those rivers, and she offers every encouragement to their navigation to her own doors. By a decree of the 27th January, 1853, she declares, as the "owner of the Pilcomayo ; of the tributaries* and the greater part of the Madeira ; of the left shores of the Irenes ; of the western bank of the Paraguay ; of the grēater part of the Bermejo, she has the right to navigate these rivers to the sea," and no power shall "arrogate exclusive sovereignty over the Amazon and La Plata." She makes the navigation "free to all the nations of the globe," and on several streams, establishes *nineteen* free ports. She offers to donate from "one league to twelve leagues square," of her land, "to the individuals or companies, who, sailing from the Atlantic, shall arrive at any one of the points, declared to be free ports of entry, and may wish to found near them agricultural and industrial establishments." She guarantees "ten thousand dollars to the first steamer, which, through La Plata or Amazon, may arrive at either of the free ports." And she declares "free the river exportation of the products of the soil and the national industry." From Bolivia is derived the bark from which quinine is manufactured. Two millions of dollars worth was gathered there in 1852, and the demand over the world is daily increasing. It is now transported six hundred miles, on the backs of mules, over the Andes to the Pacific, and thence conveyed to a market around the Cape. It is the country too of the "Sacred Llama,"† of the Vicuna and

* The decree from the *Epoca*, published at La Paz, Bolivia, copied in the New-York Herald.

† The Llama, a variety of sheep, belonged to the Incas and was held to be sacred. The Spaniards, under Pizarro and his followers, made great havoc among them. At present, however, they are again increasing and flourishing.

the Alpaca. The population numbers about a million and a half.

Peru is situated to the north-west of Bolivia. Two-thirds of its territory lie on the waters of the Amazon. The great quicksilver mine, Huancavelica, is in Peru. There are other mines of both silver and mercury. The climate is most healthful. People live there to a good old age. The difficulties of transporting produce to market are equal to those of Bolivia—first a passage over the mountains to the Pacific and thence around the Cape. Peru is rich in her islands of guano, and a writer says that five of the eight millions of dollars of her revenue are derived from this source. The curious coca plant is indigenous there. It is a great stimulant, whose leaves are dried, and mixed with lime, and when eat, enables the Indians to travel on foot, fifty miles a day, without fatigue. From 1785 to 1789, (says Castlenau,) three and a half millions of pounds were used in the province of Lima alone. The total consumption in Peru, for the same period, was worth two and a half millions of dollars. The coca may be used with benefit under certain circumstances, and will prove a valuable article of commerce. In excess, however, like the opium in China, if not so fatally hurtful, at least it will be deleterious to the system. Like Bolivia, Peru is anxious to employ her water communication to the Atlantic. She made a treaty with Brazil for the formation of two lines of steamers. The first to run from Para (near the mouth of the Amazon,) to the mouth of the Rio Negro—both entirely within Brazil—to which eighty thousand dollars a year was to be given, and the monopoly of navigation for thirty years. The second, from Barra (mouth of the Negro,) to the outlet of the Ucayale in Equador,* and in longitude four and a half deg. east of Washington, to which twenty thousand dollars were to be paid per annum. Both to be managed, &c., by a company, whose capital shall be six hundred thousand dollars. Peru was greatly overreached in the adjustment of the terms, and Brazil acted with

* The Ucayale debouches in Equador. Maury says Peru. The river is *almost* entirely in the latter Republic. It is a long and important river.

a cunning, but short sighted policy, in her aim to exclude all nations from the Amazon and its tributaries. Our representative at Peru, Mr. Clay, had a few months earlier negotiated a treaty, which engages Peru not to grant any "favour, privilege, or immunity whatever, in matters of commerce and navigation, to other nations, which shall not be also immediately extended to the citizens" of the United States, &c. Besides, the right is conceded to us to go with our vessels to "all the *coasts, ports and places* of Peru, wherever foreign commerce is permitted, and reside in all parts of the territory," &c. Brazil has, therefore, really acquired little but Peruvian money, by her selfish and contracted stipulations. The exposure in Peru of the brazen swindle, will excite an indignation, which will do the cause of free navigation of the Amazon *not the least harm*.

On the 5th of April, Peru* issued a decree similar to that of Bolivia, by which her portion of the waters of the Amazon were thrown open to all nations. How it may conflict with the treaty with Brazil we need not pause to consider. She likewise establishes the freedom of two ports, at which no duties shall be collected. And of equal importance, emigrants from all countries are invited to her shores, who, landing on the Pacific, will be transported, at the public expense, over the Andes into the Amazon Valley. Land, farming instruments and seed will be given to them. They are to be exempt from taxation for twenty years, and are allowed the right of legislation on local affairs, and to elect their own judges, while freedom of religious tenets and worship is guaranteed! What a commentary this presents on the long reign of Spanish exaction and tenacity. What a contempt is shown for the exclusive ideas of their ancestors, and many of their brethren in other States. True wisdom has in two instances penetrated the thick skull of the Spanish breed: and surely Bolivia and Peru, as they deserve, will attain earliest, the highest prosperity to which the States of South America are destined.

The States of Equador and New Granada are north of

* The Washington Union copied the decree of the President of Peru.

Peru. Three-fourths of one, and one half of the other, are drained by the waters of the Amazon. The great river itself, and numerous branches, flow through Equador. The Caqueta separates these States—the Rio Negro, and all the heads of the Orinoco are found in Granada. Venezuela, farther eastward, is crossed centrally by the Orinoco. Lying within the tropics,* and possessing a diversity of climates from the different degrees of elevation above the sea, their products are tropical and extra tropical. The mountain ridges supply minerals to the enterprising miner. Differing somewhat from countries already noticed, the year is divided here, more distinctly, into wet and dry seasons—this particularly of Venezuela. There, the Orinoco,† running some one thousand, five hundred miles, with many affluents, debouches through fifty mouths in about 9 deg. north latitude. Seven of these mouths are navigable. At the distance of five hundred miles from the coast, it is from one to two miles wide, and its depth at low water is some sixty-five fathoms. Its adjacent forests are extensive, having all the ordinary and several kinds of aromatic wood;—beyond, are vast fertile plains;—everywhere are to be seen animals of many species, and fowls of every variety of gorgeous plumage. The useful and the ornamental blending in any proportion, to suit the desire or the taste.

In our cursory notice—all that the space allowed would permit us to make—we come next to the Empire of Brazil, and the country more especially of Amazonia. Its greater portion lies within the control of the Portuguese government. The largest and the richest, and the most favourably located of all the States of South-America, Brazil is yet the only one which supports a monarchy, and cherishes, as far as practicable, the despotic principles and the narrow and exclusive policy of its European progenitor.

The Amazon river rises in the heart of Peru, flowing from lake Lauricocha, and by that name running along the East-

* Gen. Mosquera describes all these States. His *New Granada* covers all the region north of the Amazon to the Isthmus. It is a highly interesting and valuable pamphlet.

† *Encyclopædia Americana*, article Orinoco.

ern valley of the Andes, into Equador. Bending to the East, it traverses, in its many windings, some four thousand or more miles, and empties an immense body of water into the Atlantic, directly under the Equator. At the mouth, it is from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty miles broad, and at certain points has been sounded, without finding bottom, to the depth of one hundred and three* fathoms! The square miles drained by this monarch of rivers and its numberless tributaries, have been estimated at two millions and forty-eight thousand: the Orinoco, allied with it by the Casiquiare, and the Rio Negro, being one of its branches. The Mississippi possesses not half so extensive a basin, and it is next in size on the globe. The Southern affluents—the prominent ones—are, the Tocantins, passing from Matto Grosso, through Gizerz and Para, and traversing more degrees of latitude than the Mississippi, pours its flood into the Amazon, not far from the city of Para—the Xingu (Chingu of Maury)—the Tapajos—the extensive Madeira from Bolivia—the Purus—Tappé—Hyruba—Hintay—Tavary—the Ucayale from Peru, and the Huallaraga—“none of them smaller than the Ohio, and some larger than the Missouri.” On the north are the Negro, from New Granada, bringing along the waters of Orinoco—the Japura or Caqueta—the Putomayo or Ica—the Napo, from Equador—the Tigré—Yucu, and the Pastaza, which, like the Napo, rises in the mountains about Quito.

The climate of this long river varies from that of perpetual snows in the Andes, through all gradations, to the level of the sea, in latitude zero. The soil is pre-eminently fertile. The forest growth is unequalled. The productions correspond with the soil and the climate, and all are in perfection. Every zone of the earth has there a representative yield, and in larger proportion than elsewhere. In parts of the valley, the lower portion, summer is perpetual, and there is a constant succession of crops. Several harvests of certain productions may be gathered annually. Cocoa and Coca grow there spontaneously. There likewise are culti-

vated, or grow wild, rice, corn, wheat, tea, coffee, sugar, cotton, tobacco, castor oil plant, tapioca and the orzad tree; and all the drugs and perfumes, and the curious and valuable trees and woods of Paraguay, already alluded to, may be found. The rich Brazil nuts grow in that region, and the more important India rubber (Caoutchouc)* so extensively employed now, and increasing rapidly in demand, comes thence almost exclusively. Gold and diamonds are washed from the streets of some of the towns of Brazil† (in Matto Grosso.) The great dividing ridge between the waters of Amazon and La Plata, ranges in a zigzag course through the empire, passing Cayuba, and on both its sides, for nearly two thousand miles, are found gold dust, diamonds, and other precious stones.

A large share of the commerce of Brazil is given to the United States—England, however, and Portugal, being on terms of more intimate intercourse. But when we become better known and appreciated—our propinquity of situation is considered, and our markets, equally good with others of the world, are tested, it may be reasonably calculated, that the monopoly of her trade will be enjoyed by this country. The nature of things, to which attention will be called directly, renders this conclusion not only probable in theory, but absolutely inevitable in practice!

The revenue of Brazil, as a recent newspaper intimates, is about thirty-four millions of dollars, of which about thirty millions of dollars were expended the past year. Her financial affairs would seem to be in good condition. But it is not the object, at present, to look beyond the political and geographical situation of any of the numerous State of South America. A volume would not comprise a minute account of all their external and internal relations. Nor is a view of these at all necessary, in the elucidation of our subject. Incidentally, allusions may be made or insinuated in the sequel.

South America is peculiarly situated, with regard to the

* The total value of India rubber goods manufactured in the United States is estimated at *ten millions annually!*

† *Encyclopedia Americana*—article, Brazil.

United States. Her configuration, together with the influences of the trade-winds, make her choice territory an agricultural region; and the combination of these winds with certain ocean channels, particularly the gulf stream, will ultimately throw her valuable products into the lap of the more industrious and enterprising people of North America. The revolution of the globe produces both of these effects, aided by the varied* temperature of different zones.

The gulf stream passes through the Bahama channel,—skirts the coast of the United States,—meeting the Polar current off Halifax, it is diverted near the banks of Newfoundland, and expanding in all its progress, it moves by the Cape de Verds, and dividing, one portion goes towards Norway, while another trends upon the Canaries, and down the coast of Africa. Here, it unites with the equatorial current, and flows westward towards South America, where it inpinges in about the latitude of Cape St. Roque, where the shores of that country form a salient angle towards the East. Separating again,—while a part sweeps down the coast and through the Straits of Magellan, the stronger stream rushes by the mouths of the Amazon and the Orinoco, enters the Caribbean sea, and thence circling the Gulf of Mexico, proceeds again on its perpetual† biennial round. The waters of the Amazon are thus directed into the Carribean sea, into the Gulf of Mexico, and through the Bahama Straits. As Maury beautifully says, a chip thrown from the Andes into that vast tide, would be found, in time, in the Gulf stream off Charleston; and it would meet a similar float, cast from the Rocky Mountains in the waters of the Mississippi. The Gulf is rendered common, by natural laws, to the uses of both half continents; and commercial predominance must control the products of them both! The Amazon is destined to bear the commerce of nine-tenths of productive South America—its stream, borne by an Ocean channel, runs within a hundred miles of our great Southern Atlantic seaport—and with a spark of intelligent enterprise, the rich freight must find a

* For minute knowledge reference may be had to the Encyclopedias, Murray's Geography, Brande's Dictionary, etc. We have no space to descend into particulars.

† Encyclopædia Americana.

lodgement at her wharves. This process is true, and it is as beautiful as true.

While the Gulf stream has this tendency, the trade-winds of the Atlantic are lending an important co-operation. That, in the northern hemisphere, perceptible in latitude thirty degrees, blows from the North-east toward the Equator. The Southern, striking in about the same latitude, moves North-westerly to the same equatorial line. The wind and the channel, both advancing up the coast of South America, about St. Roque, present a serious obstacle to sailing ships from Para, at the mouth of the Amazon, to Rio Janeiro. Practice demonstrates the fact. A vessel bound from Para for any part of the world, save the Caribean Sea or the Gulf of Mexico, not excepting Rio or Cape Horn, is compelled* to run *North to the latitude of Florida*, before taking her course. By the united action of wind and stream, Charleston and other ports on our seaboard, are placed, therefore, much nearer, as to time, to Para, than is Rio Janeiro, the capital of Brazil! And by the breadth of the Atlantic, nearer than Liverpool or London. Going hence to Para, a ship is wafted by the North-east trade-wind. Even should steam be applied, the advantages are similar. The trip between Charleston and Para would consume ten or twelve days, perhaps less; while to England it would be nearly twice as long. The time to Rio, from Para, is of little concern, since the produce will seek the nearest and best markets, and the United States, or England, must become the great mart for its exchange.

Providence appears to direct—by the natural laws alluded to—into the waters of the United States, the future valuable and varied productions of an Empire. Energetic man must appropriate the blessing. Enjoying such advantages, our country must, in the course of time, surpass the material glories, at least, of Greece; and may even transcend the colossal magnitude and wealth of Rome in her palmyest days. And combining the sources of greatness from other channels of commerce, and from the certain, however gra-

* Maury states the fact.

dual, enlargement of our territory, and the vast increase of population, &c., &c., British supremacy on the ocean will live only in history, while a mightier Power will firmly grasp both the trident of the sea, and the sceptre on land !

The trade-winds perform another, and a far higher office. Aided by the figure and the location of Amazonia, including the countries of La Plata and the Orinoco, they render it the grand agricultural region, such as it has been described. This figure approaches to a right angle triangle, having the Andes, in direction North and South, for the hypotenuse, and the sides, running North-east and South-east, uniting in the angle at Cape St. Roque. The trade-winds (respectively) impinge perpendicularly against those sides, and *sweep over a vast country* to the mountains ; starting dry winds, from the Poles, and passing wide tracts of the ocean ;—the South-east trades favouring South America more than any other country, because they traverse the greatest expanse of water,—they imbibe moisture in their progress, and arrive in Amazonia, plethoric with aqueous vapour. Meeting near the Equator, what is called the belt, or zone of calm, is there formed. This zone is several degrees of latitude in breadth ; and by reason of the non-coincidence of the Ecliptic and the Equator, or, in other words, because the sun moves back and forth (apparently) across the “line,” it varies in position, travelling from about 5 deg. South, to 10 or 15 degs. North latitude. Wherever it may be, it is incessantly raining. In the month of March, it moves northward, precipitating abundant and refreshing showers, and is followed by the South-east trade, carrying fair weather in its train. In August or September it retraces its course, moistening the earth with a genial “season,” and, pressed by the North-east trade, dispensing balmy air and cloudless skies. The floods are mostly poured upon the slopes and summits of the Andes and adjacent ridges, where the colder atmosphere extracts, as from a compressed sponge, every particle of watery vapour. In the progress of these laden winds, the whole country, comprised in our subject, is bounteously supplied with dews and rains, and by them and the belt of calm, the sources of the

great streams, the Magdalena, the Orinoco, La Plata, and their various tributaries, are nourished and sustained in their magnificent tides; while the more central (equatorially) Amazon is rendered always navigable, to the very foot of the Andes! Lt. Maury says, that the zone of calm is laid down in his trade-wind chart, and its position may be seen for any month in the year. The wet and dry seasons are produced by its change of place. But the Orinoco basin alone is peculiarly divided into these distinct periods of rain and drought. Elsewhere, and particularly on the Amazon, the wet season gives more rain, but, at other times of the year, as in the temperate region of North America, there are cooling and fructifying showers. This adds to its agricultural capability, and likewise to the agreeableness of that equatorial region,—especially where not elevated much above the sea,—for the habitation and the labours of man.

The government of the States is in all republican, excepting Brazil, which is monarchical, having an Emperor for its sovereign. Knowledge of the numbers of the inhabitants is not definite, but ten millions would probably be a fair estimate, including Spaniards and Portuguese-Indians, independent and subservient, and half and quarter breeds, and negroes, and the various crosses upon that stock; of whom, one-third, perhaps, are unmixed descendants of European races. Brazil is the only slave State. The others, in their enthusiasm, like the French in their era of madness, proclaimed emancipation about the time that their own *political* fetters were stricken off. Between the mouths of the Orinoco and Amazon, the British, the Dutch, and the French, have the small colonies of Guiana, but they do not conflict with the tenor of the argument. They can neither check nor divert, by such possessions, the great stream of commerce,—and it is their destiny, at that point, to fall into the flow of the current, or be submerged in its waves.

In a condensed form—omitting much that would instruct, and, perhaps, interest—the best portion of South America has been noticed, in its climate, soil, rivers, productions; in the numbers and character of its population; and in the na-

ture, very generally, of its forms of government. A few comments and suggestions are not only proper, but necessary, to complete the outline for the present time.

Many of the people of South America, in possession of the *diamond* "Indies"—far superior, if justly developed, to those "golden" ones which mankind for so many centuries have worshipped—are awakening from a repose of ages of longer duration than the famous nap of Rip Van Winkle, and seem inclined to imbibe a portion of the enlightenment of more advanced, if of less favoured nations. Their first and highest duty, alike enuring to their own interest, and to that of the world, is to form treaties of friendship and commerce with other countries. Such treaties should be based on terms of the utmost reciprocal liberality with each and all. Monopolies among nations are equally disadvantageous and odious with those between individuals. They are not only rapacious in design, and in the long run really unprofitable in result, but they are demoralizing. Let all countries fare alike; let there be free and honourable competition; and industry and skill will be stimulated and rewarded, while the emulation excited will redound to the benefit of all parties. South America derives her prospects of wealth, and her consequent refinement and general advancement, from the products of her minerals—from her agriculture (cultivation)—from the spontaneous growth of her forests, and the increase of various animals on her vast pampas, and numerous other pastoral regions. By fair rivalry in her markets she may sell at the best rates, and purchase on equally fair terms. She is not commercial. The formation of her coast forbids it. She is a producing, not a carrying people.

Nature fashions the character, as well as directs the pursuits, of man. The mountaineer inhales from his pure and elevated breezes, the proud principles of individual freedom, while following the hardy exercise of the chase, and deriving a scanty subsistence from a rock-strown soil. The inhabitant of indented coasts—with peninsulas and bays—and such are confined exclusively to the Northern hemisphere—

is a commercial being born to the sea. His enterprise and daring belong to another element. His infantine sports are with the breakers of old ocean ; his mature manhood not only exists, but delights, in wrestling with the mountain waves, and traversing, for gain, the great blue main in all directions. The planter belongs to another and a distinct class. His aim is to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before—to upturn the soil, and compel the earth to the largest yield of her⁸ most needed, and, therefore, most profitable fruits. He looks neither to the mountains nor to the sea, but works diligently upon the fertile fields around—independent from his very avocation, which teaches dependence solely upon God, and not man, for spring time and harvest ; and, as his pursuit, the foundation of all, is the noblest, so he is the genuine nobleman of the world !

South America necessarily depends on others to waft her produce from her doors. Commercial freedom should be her earliest maxim ;—and all the avenues should be opened widely to facilitate its universal enjoyment. A revenue policy may, in the end, conflict with this maxim—but an infant people have relied, and will again do so, for governmental support, on direct taxation. The complication of customs, regulations, and treaty stipulations, more or less exclusive, belong to maturer nations, and those whose varied climes, and, therefore, varied pursuits and industrial productions, require some modification of the great principle of free trade ; and, paradoxical as it appears, experience shows also, that they demand some disguise of taxation, although equally felt, yet not consciously appreciated, from the indirect and circuitous channel through which it is collected. But a purely agricultural people (including now all that the earth gives forth, upon and beneath its surface) need never deviate from the broad views of free international commercial intercourse. The most civilized and experienced countries, long mired in the slough of commercial restrictions, have at length perceived the great reciprocal blessings of an approximation, at least, to free trade principles, however diversified the avocations of their citizens. South America may wisely adopt

them at the outset. She would advance beyond even the growing intelligence of England and the United States, and *in one respect may boast a superior progress in civilization!*

Bolivia and Peru have set the ball in motion, and have thus given a noble example to their sister States. Paraguay has probably followed in their wake, although the terms of the recent triple treaty with England, France and America, (one portion of it by Mr. Pendleton,) are not published. Equador, New Grenada and Venezuela will unquestionably concur with the others. And Urquiza, since his expulsion of Rosas, a follower of old Dr. Francia, of Paraguay, and disposed to seal hermetically La Plata,—Urquiza has decreed the opening of that river to the commerce of all the world. It is a wise order, conforming to the intelligence of the age; and fully as much so to the necessities of the Buenos Ayrean provinces. But we hope not to be traced to mere opposition, temporarily, to the stupid course of Rosas; and, therefore, when its author is securely established in power, liable to be repealed! Brazil, alone, at present the most important country, adheres to an obstinate hatred of North American "*pirates*," and to her own absurdly contracted notions of national prosperity. Don Pedro refused permission to our Government to look into the Amazon, and merely ascertain its value. (Maury.) He is satisfied with his own mere knowledge of his gold, and diamond, and agricultural mines. Like the man who boasts to the world of a splendid (unimproved) estate—lying waste, and giving comparatively no return to the owner—Don Pedro will laud his possessions too; but neither improve them himself—for he is really incompetent—nor permit another to do so; although immensely to his pecuniary advantage, to his political enhancement, and to his credit for sound sense and liberal ideas. He fears our ambitious desire to *annex* his Empire! But he not! At present, our hands are full. Our territory is beyond the wants of our population, rapidly increasing as it is. Mexico has to be absorbed, provided for, and controlled into decency and respectability. Cuba has to be acquired; not by purchase perhaps, nor by the more questionable policy of rampant—and honestly we say it—unjustifiable "*filibus*—

terism," but by the indignant uprising of her own people, their extrication from tyranny by their own strong arms, and *then*, our maintenance of their independence, and annexation of their State, *at their own request*. Texas is in some respects a case in point. Possibly, most of the West India Islands, after some fashion, will merge into our capacious bosom. Next, Central America must be disposed of, if not to our benefit, certainly in a manner least calculated to do us injury.

After all these events, Brazil may awaken the attention of the American people, but scarcely sooner. Don Pedro—the Emperor—will certainly live and die an Emperor, so far as the United States can affect his destiny. But, in frankness, which should characterize all our foreign intercourse, we should say to Don Pedro, had we his ear, that the womb of the future is closed, Providentially, by an impenetrable veil. Its forthcoming events cannot be announced by human tongue, since the days of the prophets are passed away, and mankind have no assurance that the Divinity will again inspire one of his creatures to a similar degree with those of old. Yet, reasoning from the increasing power and grandeur of America—from the expansibility of her principles and institutions, (not that of her constitution, as our friend, Gov. Cass asserts)—and from the long tested propensities of her dominant race for the acquisition of *land*, and for the *order* and *good government* of the world, it may be said, (barring fratricidal conflicts and disunion,) that Brazil, empire as it is under a monarchical sovereign, must inevitably partake of the glorious destiny of the United States! If, to finite human vision, anything remote in the career of nations may be perceived, this—whatever time may elapse—is as clear as the sun at unclouded noonday! But the vision is not restricted to Don Pedro's dominions. All of South America will share in the renown and the glory of such a destiny! Don Pedro's country, perhaps, the *very last*; if that will content him, and quiet his apprehensions! Thirty years ago, (See Everett's lecture at New York) San Salvador applied to unite with us—and it is said that Venezuela has expressed, or is about to express, the same desire.

At this juncture, only free commerce with Brazil is requested. The demand must be acceded to. England, France, and America, can succeed. The instructions of our Executive, and the earnest co-operation of the other powers, will break down the old Chinese policy of Brazil. An effort is required, and the sooner it is made the better for all parties. Besides, there are five powers soliciting earnestly to be blessed by the navigation of the Amazon and its main tributaries. They must be heard. Brazil has fought in the same cause, and by proper and peremptory representations, from the Powers mentioned, she may not refuse justice, and prove herself a nation inconsistent and selfish. Should she persist in her obstinacy, the States above her, aided by the three great civilized and commercial nations, will declare war,—force her to just ideas of comity, and conclude a treaty on fair and satisfactory terms. This is to be the last resort, but it will be adopted, if those countries shall ever sincerely co-operate with those of South America.

In the meantime, lines of ships, steam or sail, may* be recommended to our merchants. Southern men may invest in this enterprise, because it will pay now; and soon, a good interest will accrue; while an established footing will secure large profits in the future. The commerce of Para is worth about three millions of dollars, that of La Plata nearly as much more, per annum. The travel and the mails, in addition, would support a monthly vessel; while the trade of Rio Janeiro, and other ports, would swell the compensation.

* By the newspapers we see that the *Water-Witch* steamer, under Lt. Page, has been sent by our Executive to explore La Plata and its waters. This, since the decree of General Urquiza. Likewise, the steamer *El Paraguay* has been despatched to carry on trade on La Plata and Paraguay rivers. Her commander is Lt. Baldwin of the Navy. The expedition was fitted out at New York, by merchants there probably, and under the suggestions and auspices of Edward A. Hopkins, Esq., United States Consul to the Republic of Paraguay. These lines would be the forerunners of others, established to run between different points on the two great rivers. Maury says (quoting Martin) that, for eight months after La Plata was opened to European commerce, sixteen millions of dollars worth of goods were exchanged for produce. Two convoys of ships, one of one hundred and ten, and the other of seventy-six vessels passed down the river La Plata with full cargoes. This, without previous mercantile establishment.

Charleston is most favourably situated to commence the operation, and she has ample capital for the purpose, yet Congress should give aid. There is as much propriety in adopting this scheme, as in endowing steamer lines to California and Europe. Two steamers would answer to begin the trade with Para. Another line should be formed for La Plata, not to pause at Buenos Ayres, but to proceed as high as Paraguay, if not beyond. This, for the present, would be more lucrative than the other, and unquestionably would make handsome returns. Rail-roads are often constructed on estimates of prospective payment, and how many linger for long years without a dividend, and occasionally demand an extra subscription from the stockholders for support? The South-Carolina road, for one, has done so. It would not be so bad, certainly, in an investment in steamers for South America; while the enterprise would be full as creditable, and the ultimate advantage—particularly if the contemplated treaty should be early negotiated—perhaps much greater.

It may be said that intercourse with South America would benefit the South less than the North. In some respects, there would be ground for the assertion. We, like the people there, are eminently agricultural. But we are more. The factories* of the world cannot compete in quality and cheapness with our coarse cotton goods, and these, for a long time, would be chiefly in demand. By the period that their riches would increase, and with them a taste for luxuries, who can declare that the South will be unable to meet the requisition for finer fabrics? The probabilities are the other way. Our factories, other than cotton, would use the raw material in part, at least, from that region; and still others,

* The United States will, in the course of events, monopolize the trade of South America. Our manufactures must supersede those of England. France has none to compete with at all, and small themselves, they will have their present sway. But the immigration from the British Isles is so extensive, that labourers will not be in abundance to conduct her factory operations at present wages. We already see the first effect; *wages have increased*. This is the beginning only. They will soon be forced to the American standard, and our advantages of the material at our doors—exemption from freights and commissions—similarity of prices, and water power, will enable us to leave her far behind in the competition in cotton goods.

of which none may now exist, would soon be erected, in order to supply our own section with articles now drawn from the North. India rubber, for one article, could be moulded into all useful forms here, as well as elsewhere—quinine likewise, and all the other drugs, would be appropriated in proportion to our population. Coffee, from Rio, is now brought to us by way of N. York; it would then come directly. The same of Paraguay tea. In a measure, the same of the the varieties of wool; and, indeed, of every thing but cotton, rice and sugar, which are our great staples. Tobacco, of choice kinds, would be as welcome from South America as from Cuba;—be bought at cheaper rates;—and segars can now be made in our cities, as well as any where else. Besides, what might not be wanted among us could be shipped to other markets. New-York may be tributary to Charleston for some things, with as much justice as she has been so to New-York for fifty years. Let the tables be turned. Let these lines, to one or both ports and rivers of South America, be the commencement of a revolution in trade. A beginning will tend to consummate the revolution in all trade, and to all other countries. This has been a great *desideratum* with southern merchants and statesmen for over twenty years. Several Conventions, and the recent one at Memphis among them, have discussed the proposition, but they all terminated in windy resolutions. No man, nor set of men, would lay down *his* or their money, and say here is the *nucleus* for a general subscription. There was no enthusiastic earnestness of purpose—there was no kindling leader of moral, intellectual, and *especially of pecuniary* weight and determination, to mould the southern policy. The South is apparently as remote from her object as she was before the pouring of all this frothy declamation. Here, now, is something practical and real, and men of substance should come to the mark—put their purses in the wheel—and show the world that *words are not all*—that we mean to, and can, accomplish a great work.

A further incentive to the course advised, is the fact that competition is being aroused, and the first who shall gain the trade of Amazonia, unless under very great disadvantages,

will retain it for a long period. England has a line now to Rio Janeiro, and will form another to Para. New-York, more favoured, may step in also, and checkmate both England and South. Her attention is already awakened. The time for action has arrived. While the city of Charleston, and the interior counties of different States, are building the Rabun gap, and the Blue Ridge rail-roads, for—we may say—a continental channel of trade, to struggle successfully against Norfolk and Savannah,—let individual merchants, and other citizens, combine to bring an equal or greater trade, by sea, from another country. The one is not inconsistent with the other. Both united, in proper hands, and impelled by ordinary Anglo-Saxon energy and acuteness, would, probably, make the metropolis of South-Carolina, in *reality* the “queen city of the South!”

The second great duty of South America is to *invite* emigration*. Excepting Brazil, all the States attempted once to follow in the governmental footsteps of America. Whether failure in essentials, or success, was the result, is not the question. If the former, it was not owing to the model; for *we have succeeded*. Let those States take another sample of our wisdom, and invite foreigners, with liberal donations of their unoccupied territory, to settle among them, and impart habits of industry, and examples of energy and skill, to their indolent, and, comparatively, benighted people. This policy has materially assisted in propelling us† to the position in the world which we now occupy. A similar one is at present needed in South America—sparsely populated, with an immense country;—capable, from its soil and its mineral treasures, of offering the highest inducements to emigrants. The Irish, the English, the Germans, and others from Europe, would flock there in crowds, and settle in the climes congenial to their previous habits, to their tastes, or to their constitutions (physiologically.) When the Isthmus canal and rail-road are completed, of which one is in pro-

* Peru has done so as previously stated.

† This remark is a national one. The southern section of America has been very slightly, if at all benefitted. But the northern people have, to an extraordinary degree. The text, farther on, will exhibit more of the question.

gress, and the other, unquestionably, to be constructed ere long, thousands would pass from overpopulated Asia, to those regions of South America, which are assimilated in climate and productions to their native countries. The Chinese, shaking off forty centuries of slumber, would hasten there, to improve their condition, as large numbers have already successfully done, in California. The Coolies and various others, would follow the example. South America, in portions of her territory, would blossom like a garden, and pour into the laps of foreign nations—while receiving in return an ample equivalent—her countless and inexhaustible riches. She would advance full soon, and with giant strides, to a high place in agriculture, in the refinement flowing from wealth, in respectability and power, among the most favoured countries. Brazil should not lag in the rear. Her interests would be subserved in as high a degree as those of others, by the adoption of the same sagacious policy. Don Pedro may fear the stability of his dynasty, by admitting a heterogeneous population of strangers from all parts of the globe. But the fear would be idle for a long time to come. His Portuguese have possession and control, and are numerous. They may jealously exclude all, but natives, from political stations. They would leaven the emigrants by intermarriages with themselves. Revolutions under such circumstances are but slow in maturing, and might be avoided in their horrors of carnage, by gradual alterations of laws and institutions, to meet the advancing intelligence of the people. A wise prince will ascertain the essential requirements of the governed, and, from time to time, make the necessary concessions. In the course of ages, should ameliorations of government become inevitable, the Portuguese would, with the promoters and abettors of them, be equally elevated and benefitted.

Many, from the United States, would, undoubtedly, seek that country. Some for its mineral advantages—others for the prosecution of their arts and trades—numbers for agricultural purposes, and all for the ease and unsurpassed facility, with which, not only subsistence, but a competency, may be procured. The institution of slavery in Brazil, which

should awaken in that power some sympathy with us, where the same system prevails, and on a scale greatly more extended, would entice our southern planters, with their slaves, in large numbers, in the course of time, to emigrate to the fertile valley of the Amazon. The fruitful soil and climate, where nature yields an hundred fold, or more, to moderate labour, would be an irresistible attraction. Although, from the hot sun, which dries rapidly the decaying foliage; and the continual succession of growths, which absorbs promptly the elements of that decay, the lower portion of Amazonia may be more healthful than most countries under the equator; yet, the opinion may be offered, that the *white man* cannot properly develop that region, by his unaided manual exertions. The rays of a vertical sun are too intense to be borne by him. They have been proved to be overpowering above even 30 deg. of north latitude, in the United States; and, in South America, with all modifying circumstances, the lassitude induced, prevents, for some hours of the day, a white person from venturing without the shade.* African slaves are, therefore, demanded in order to extract the agricultural wealth of a region, where no others of the human family can toil under a burning sun. Brazil thus maintains the system of slavery, and many thousands are annually imported. The trade will increase and multiply, in spite of the impotent edicts of man. It is a decree of Providence, to accomplish his inscrutable designs. One of these designs may be *conjectured* to be to "till the earth," and in doing so, certainly not to abandon to wilderness, to the beasts of prey, to the fowls of air, and to creeping monsters, her fairest and most fertile portions. The order having been given, the means were adapted, and inspiration, or instinct, prompted the dominant, and the intellectually, and, in complexion, the superior race, to apply the only possible method, as yet known, that of compelling the inferior and suitable African to the

* Warren, in his Para, &c., gives an interesting account of that city (fifteen thousand inhabitants) and province. Para is elevated, and the heat not so oppressive, as it is higher up the Amazon. The thermometer was, in the shade, at the highest, at 90 deg.; and, at the lowest, at 70 deg. A difference during the year of only 20 deg.!

great task. A second design, judging from the effect produced on the American slaves, may be the conversion from ignorance, immorality, utter uselessness in the economy of the world, and from idolatry, millions of human creatures. The heathen are to be reclaimed, and this mode is the most admirable that can be conceived. All others have accomplished nothing, compared with the pecuniary means, and the human lives, expended in the effort. Not fifty thousand barbarians have received and adopted the truth, in the last two or three centuries; while in the United States there are three hundred thousand, or more, who are communicants of the church; and as many millions are removed from the savage state—are comfortable, happy, civilized, and to a degree intelligent; adding, by moderate daily toil, to their own physical and moral contentment, and, at the same time, benefitting all mankind by the productions of their industry! This topic need not be pursued. These hints are all that we care to present to the reader in this paper.

We must not, however, omit to notice Lieut. Maury's position, that "the free navigation of the Amazon"—"is to prove (in his belief,) the safety valve of the Union." The allusion to the future extinction of slavery is obvious. The period at which this desirable (?) event is to occur, has not been conjectured. From the recent action of our government, and the rabid agitation of emancipation in another section of the country, indicating a settled hostility to the institution, and a growing power to abolish it, the presumption is that its doom was fixed for an early day; and both the security of the Union and the riddance of slaves, were to be accomplished by an instant commercial treaty for the navigation and settlement of the Amazon valley, by the emigration thence of all our slave owners, with their "peculiar" property! Cotton, and sugar, and rice, are to be thrown overboard for a decade! The Southern States are to become that peaceful solitude which Tacitus describes! The factories of the world are to be suspended, until Amazonia furnishes the materials for farther action, and the ope-

ratives to live—perhaps, on air !—for the term of suspension ! Or, Lieut. Maury, enthusiastic in his commercial cause, and earnestly wishing the aid of Congress, would conciliate the sentiment of the† majority to attain his end ! Either reason is unfortunate. But we will boldly meet the point at issue, and its consequences, on other, and, quite as strong grounds, as those which he has indicated.

We believe, differently, perhaps, from Lieut. Maury and many others, that the anti-slavery feeling is running to seed. That the hobby, ridden without reaching the grand aim projected, is wearing out. That the northern agitators are now confined to a comparatively few madmen, who are equally fanatic against the Bible and its author, as against “slave drivers.” That the bone and sinew of our northern brethren are satisfied that an *ignis fatuus* has been leading them astray from a just and constitutional view of the question, and into the quagmire of insociability and unkindness with their best neighbours. That England, the originator of the system of slavery, and, from selfish and sinister* motives, the very head of the crusade for its extirpation, is sick of the heartless struggle ; and would *now*, but for very shame, re-establish it in her fertile dominions ; and *will do so yet*, when her cycle of experiments—the end of which the sagacious

* We heartily disavow all intended offence to Mr. Maury. He is a Virginian, and, without knowing him personally, is a gentleman for whom we entertain high admiration. We are dealing with his publication, and we assure him that we are handling this portion with *our gloves on*.

† A letter in the New-York Herald of the 24th June, 1853, from a Dr. Geo. Burton Haygarth, at Chuquisaca, Bolivia, (dated 12th Feb., 1853,) explains the grand philanthropy of the last India Emancipation Act, and the twenty millions of pounds sterling appropriated for the purpose. He quotes from the British Secretary of the Board of Trade, that the difference between the price of free and slave labour sugar pays England about five million sterling annually. This was the original estimate when the scheme was concocted, and it has been realized. The details of the letter are interesting. We regret that it cannot be inserted here in full. The evil motive was to effect a dissolution of the Union, and check the progress of a great commercial rival. The action of the Shaftesbury's, and Sunderlands, and Carlises, is probably in the old time of policy. But the government differs. The Queen would not receive the Stows, and it was difficult for Martin Van Buren to gain admission to her from his past unpatriotic anti-slavery career. Had he not been an Ex-President of the United States, he would have been in the same degraded category with the authors of Uncle Tom's Cabin !

already perceive—is terminated. The grand politico-religious fervour is nearly evaporated, and *slavery, this day, stands on a firmer basis than it has ever done !*

The cordon around the South, restricting slavery to the present States which sustain it, and leading to the idea that its great increase of numbers may, as Henry Clay thought, very absurdly, compel the owners to get clear of their negroes *because unprofitable*, possibly suggested the notion expressed by Lieut. Maury. But it was not well considered. When the necessity arises, the South will *break* the cordon established by the governments; she will incorporate one after another, the Mexican States; she will take active measures—from which she has heretofore abstained—to introduce slavery into California, and even Oregon; and it *exists already* in Utah; and in the worst form in New Mexico. Yet the time for these necessities is quite remote. Indeed they will, in reasonable probability, *never* press upon us at all.

For her purposes, the South requires an accession to her number of negroes of about one hundred thousand per annum! Bounteously as her soil has produced, for the *security* and the *interest* of England, and for the industry of the Northern States, it is just begun to be developed. Like South America, many parts have been merely scratched for present needs. Her coal, and iron, and copper, and silver and gold, have to be delved. Her great rail-road schemes have to be perfected, and negroes are preferable to whites for these objects—work more, cost less, bear the climate better, and *never strike* for wages. Her swamps—the best of her lands—are to be drained and cultivated. Her vast extent of territory has to be filled up and improved. Her lands skimmed over and abandoned, have to be renovated. Her factories of all kinds have to be supplied with operatives; and, when the poor or lazy whites are exhausted, the negroes will supply the deficiency; and experience of the past, and the present practice, prove their competency. There is a world of work to do in the next three or four centuries, and labour is *wanting*.

Should Cuba be annexed, and the importation of Africans be proscribed and prohibited, our wants would enormously

increase. Prices of slaves, ruling at present, show the value of our contemplated works, and the absence of labourers in sufficient abundance. Cuba would render the case far worse. Some twenty or thirty thousand negroes are imported annually, and do not supply the demand.* Under our rule—with emigrants to that rich island—what would become of both countries? The great staples would not be yielded sufficiently to satisfy the world. Mankind would suffer.

From this view of the subject, the “safety valve” need not be opened for perhaps a thousand years! And then all the continent south of Kentucky and Missouri, at least, will be more or less inundated with Africans, accomplishing their proper destiny—*driven by their masters*—and promoting the general progress of civilization! In the meantime, instead of looking to outlets for her slaves, wanting labour like Cuba, which would give to us only political strength—and its annexation is objectionable on other grounds—may not the South be forced to demand of the Federal Government *a re-opening of the slave trade* under humane regulations? This is a startling proposition. We put it suppositiously. But it does not shock our sensibilities in the least. Slavery is sanctioned by revelation. It is almost ordered. It is neither immoral, nor sinful, nor wrong, and is, therefore, *right*. Its ultimate reaction upon Africa, in the dim future, may make that the empire of the globe, like all that have preceded us. In view of the decay of the Asiatic and European kingdoms and empires, of the inevitable coming desolation of England, and even the decline of the American continent, all may yet be under the wheel, and Africa in the ascendant! But in our present contemplations, the requirements of the Southern States may exact a repeal of the clause of the constitution, which prohibits the importation of Africans after the year 1808.

Among the innumerable forcible reasons—in this limitless

† A correspondent of the New-York Express makes this statement, and we think it not overrated. He says “there is a constant demand for labour. The Chinese importation of one thousand two hundred, to be increased to six thousand, is but as a *drop in the ocean*.”

question—for the suggestion last advanced, space will permit but one or two of the stronger arguments in its support. With these views we shall close the whole subject.

The North abolished slavery for physical reasons. Their climate, and soil, and pursuits, did not need slaves. They have prospered, as to wealth and numbers, beyond the south. This arose, in part, from the tide of emigration which set towards their shores. Their climate was adapted to the Europeans, and there they remained; and, in swelling the northern population, have aided in all their avocations.

The South held slaves, because they alone could endure the climate, and cultivate the soil, under—comparatively—the tropics. They have thrown upon the world four great and valuable staples—rice, tobacco, sugar and cotton—which, without negroes, would never have reached the grand beneficial and civilizing point which they have attained. The North has had, and continues to receive, a full supply of the working class from abroad. The South receives none whatever. The Constitution forbids her. Europeans cannot, here, perform our work, and, unlike the North, we are deficient in labourers. What recourse have we? Only to import those who are by nature fitted to perform our tasks. And is this not fair and just? If the Irish and the Germans satisfy the North, and are permitted to come to their aid—and *cannot* serve us—are we not equally entitled to draw to our fields those who can till them, while promoting the interest of the North and the good of the world? The South will ponder this proposition. The day may not be distant when the suggestion will be approved and resolutely acted upon. We do not urge nor argue it now, since our paper already is too long. But we appeal to the *thinking* men of our section, and advise them to buckle on their armor, and sharpen their weapons of argumentative war. There are many ways of *carrying the war into Africa!* H.

ART. V.—MILES'S DE SOTO.

De Soto, the Hero of the Mississippi ; a Tragedy in Five Acts. By GEO. H. MILES, Esq., Baltimore.

THIS play has been performed by Mr. Murdoch, with great success, in Philadelphia and Baltimore, and possesses a degree of merit, as a reading tragedy, which will, we are satisfied, render some notice of it highly acceptable. Its author, then a very young man, and not yet in his thirtieth year, became known to the public as the successful competitor for the prize offered by Edwin Forrest, as the best American Tragedy. "Mohammed," as it was entitled, was performed in the Northern Theatres with considerable success, although its structure was not favourable to its remaining in possession of the stage as an acting play.

The play of De Soto is, as its name imports, founded upon the history of that Hernando de Soto, who, born in the year 1501, died in 1542, and was buried in the waters of the Mississippi. The principal incidents are drawn from the admirable narrative of the Conquest of Florida, written by Theodore Irving, which have been arranged with a view to the dramatic development of De Soto's death. The chief actors in the play are De Soto ; Gonzalo, a Dominican friar ; Luis, a soldier of fortune ; Tuscaluza, a chief of the Floridas ; Ulah, his supposed daughter ; and Chepita, the wife of Anasco, one of De Soto's companions.

The character of De Soto is admirably drawn. We do not know that we have ever seen the chivalrous hidalgo more dramatically portrayed. The impersonation of such virtues seems to have been peculiar to the wars of Ferdinand and Isabella, and to those cavaliers, and their immediate followers, who first planted their adventurous standards, in the name of God and of Castile, upon the shores of the New World. Washington Irving has made the history of Columbus picturesque in its immortality, and Prescott has illustrated, with dramatic art, the adventures of Pizarro, in his "Conquest of Peru." But there remains, in the elder chronicles of Spain, ample materials for the historian and

dramatist, and we know of none more rich in romantic heroism than the story of De Soto.

Mr. Miles has treated the narrative with great skill, and has rendered the picture of Spanish military life with freshness and precision. The captive girl, won back to the traditions of her paternal faith by the instinct of her birth, and by the noble bearing of De Soto; the art, eloquence and passion of her supposed parent, an Indian chief; the wise simplicity of Luis; the boundless zeal and undeviating purpose of the Dominican friar; are all *restorations* of true originals.

We heartily congratulate Mr. Miles upon the prosperous direction of his abilities, and hope that we shall witness, in his new attempts, a full realization of that promise, for which his past labours entitle us to look.

Baltimore, Md.

G.

ART. VI.—POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF SPARTA AND ATHENS.

Grote's History of Greece. Vols. 3 and 4. Boston: Jewett & Company. 1851.

AMONG the most remarkable phenomena of nature, may be considered the diversity which is occasionally found to exist between two people of apparently a common origin, speaking a common language, and removed from each other by little more than a conventional, or an imaginary line. If this diversity were confined merely to certain peculiar institutions, they might, in the absence of historical records, be ascribed to the operation upon one people of the pressure of circumstances, from which the other was exempt. But, in such a case, the institutions would always appear to be anomalous, and would, in some manner, give indication of sitting uneasily upon the people. Time would bring its mo-

difications, and every new incident would tend to a restoration of the normal condition. But when not only institutions, but the whole economy of life, both public and private, are marked with distinctive characteristic features, philosophy is at fault, history put to the blush, and we are constrained to admit that the development of nature in the moral and intellectual world, are even more wonderful than those by which she startles us in the world of matter.

At no period before the age of Alexander, could Greece have been considered a considerable power in the world, or even in Europe. Of limited territory, never extending her borders beyond the islands of the Ionian sea, she formed but an atom, in the political world, and but for the immortal writers who adorned her, and transmitted her history and her acts to posterity, she would, in a view of general history, have occupied a space analogous to that which she fills in a general map of the world. She has taught us philosophy and poetry, and she has left inimitable works of art for our admiration and instruction, but she has made no impression on the political world of Europe. The civilization of Greece might have adorned Asiatic as well as European life. It was rather a superficial decoration, than a seated principle of activity. The true missionary of European civilization was Rome. She wielded the rod of the pedagogue, and led her pupils into the thorny, but wholesome paths of civilization. Greece becomes the Professor of Belles-Letters, and polishes and refines the work commenced by the sturdy old disciplinarian. Without Greece, Europe would still have been glorious and great; to Greece she is indebted for elegance and loveliness. Nay, so slender a hold has Grecian civilization on that of Europe, that when we search for its traces and origin, we find that it is only on the easternmost portions, and even in Asia itself, that they are most resplendent. The great epic, as well as the great lyric and amatory poet, were Asiatics, the great father of history was an Asiatic. All the great men of Greece were either Asiatics or Athenians, and if our imagination dwells at all upon Western Greece, our thoughts are directed thither by the genius and influence of men who had barely a foothold on the shores of Europe.

Perhaps, in the inscrutable wisdom of Providence, it may yet be reserved to Grecian civilization to perform a work more glorious than any which it has yet heretofore accomplished. Alike adapted to the imaginative east and to the sober north, it may become the link by which these two races of men may be reconciled. Shem and Japhet have regarded each other with hatred ever since the aspirations of the former were crushed at the battle of the Maturus by the Roman representative of the latter, but we have sometimes indulged the hope that peace and brotherly love may yet be restored under the benignant influence of Hellenistic civilization.

We have referred to the limited territory of Greece. Attica, by no means the smallest State of Hellas—contains not much more than half the area of Charleston district—and Laconia proper, before the conquest of Messenia, was not even so large. Both these States contain a large proportion of land which nature has interdicted to the husbandman, so that the most remarkable product of the soil is its lord and master man himself. From Macedonia to the seas, which border every side of the country, Hellas possesses a territory not exceeding that of North-Carolina—and even this inconsiderable country was never animated by a common thought, never obeyed a common will. If pressure from without excited the patriotic fears of some, and impelled them to unite in a common cause, a large portion of the country ever held out a friendly hand to the invader; and after the indomitable courage and untiring energy of a few, had placed their common country forever beyond the reach of Barbarian invasion, the various branches of a common family unceasingly inbrued their hands with the blood of their neighbours and kinsmen. If Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles, Pausanias and Cimon, have acquired an immortality of fame for defending their country against the assaults of the stranger, Pericles and Brasidas, Nicias and Aristides, Lysander and Epaminondas, have gained no less reputation for their conduct of civil wars, in which Greeks alone were the contending parties.

Greece, as a whole, has no history. The few lessons her

annals teach are given in the way of warning, not of example. They show how a people possessing all the elements of greatness failed to achieve it. That which we call the history of Greece, is the history of two of her cities, and they differ so widely in laws, customs and institutions, that nothing but their continual interference with each other can possibly justify us in calling their joint histories the history of one country.

The most complete account of the institutions of Sparta is to be found in Plutarch's life of Lycurgus; and, until within a very late period, the statements of that writer were adopted by all writers, and we were taught to receive them as an article of historical faith. When we reflect that Plutarch wrote a thousand years after Lycurgus is supposed to have lived, and that his history, if uncontradicted, is certainly not corroborated by the testimony of writers of reputation, who lived at a time when they might have seen the later workings of the system, we can not but conclude, either that they were matters of such notoriety that it was considered unnecessary to describe them, or that Plutarch had drawn upon his imagination for his facts, or upon some work which has since perished. Certain it is, that to the civilization not only of our own times, but of all European times, a state of society like that of Sparta appears unnatural and impossible. The most plausible account of Plutarch's history is as follows:

In the third century before Christ, after the glory and greatness of Greece had passed away, Agis the Fourth reigned in Sparta, a prince of amiable disposition, of lofty aspirations, of enthusiastic patriotism. Reflecting upon the past glory and actual weakness of his kingdom, he conceived the notion of renovating her by a recurrence to original principles, and recalling the traditions of the Lycurgean age, determined gradually to revive the Lycurgean polity. Forgetting that the past lies inexorably behind us, he planned his enterprize, secured the aid of a few friends, and commenced the work by making a voluntary surrender of his own private estate. His colleague on the throne, Leonidas, who did not partake of his enthusiasm, was deprived of his

authority. Thus in all ages is it true that reformers never scruple to violate the Constitution in order to carry out their scheme. Interested persons persuaded Agis to commence operations by the cancelling of debts, and all creditors were compelled to surrender their securities to the flames. But as their debts were now paid, his coadjutors relaxed in their patriotic efforts. The proposal to divide Laconia into nineteen thousand five hundred equal parts, among the Spartans, failed ; Leonidas recovered his seat on the throne, and Agis and his family perished by the hands of the hangman.

Agis hoped to revive all the institutions of the Lysurgean age, and by so doing to restore Sparta to the Hegemony, or leadership of Hellas, which she had formerly so long and so honourably enjoyed. It was the last flame of expiring patriotism ; and it is indicative of the miserable condition to which the State had fallen, when her actual condition offered no hope, and the only resource of the patriot lay in a vain appeal to the forgotten and unregarded past.

All the great spirits of the land had fallen asleep. The glorious deeds of the rival cities had been performed and written, and the writers were gathered to their fathers. It was this dream of Agis, fatal to himself, but honourable to his memory, which doubtless influenced Plutarch whilst writing the life of Lysurgus.

But even supposing the history of Plutarch to be altogether fabulous, there is testimony enough from other sources to satisfy us that in Sparta there existed a very extraordinary people, possessing a civilization utterly inconsistent with notions, either ancient or modern. Of this people, however, the pages of Plutarch exhibit only the brightest colors. If an Agrarian principle ever existed in Sparta, it quickly experienced the fate of every principle hostile to civilization. If the use of gold and silver money was forbidden, no law was powerful enough to forbid the workings of avarice and corruption among Spartans of every class.*

* Respecting the iron money of the Spartans, it should be noticed that modern writers have probably fallen into a very natural mistake concerning its use and value. Gold and silver were not used as money, certainly not coined for that purpose, until more than a century after the age of Lysurgus ; and, it is more than

If the men were trained in habits of the most rigid frugality, the women are said to have indulged themselves in every luxury attainable by wealth.

Sparta is remarkable for having survived all the States of Greece. From the dawn of Grecian History to its close, she is ever the same, ever consistent with herself. This principle of endurance is to be attributed to her constitution, which, though in form a kingdom, or rather a diarchy, for there were two kings, was, in point of fact, a close oligarchy.

Some modern writers, at the head of whom stands the learned C. O. Muller, consider the Spartan institution as the type of the manners and customs of the ancient Dorians. Here, they suppose, the primitive simplicity of this stock of the original Hellenes was preserved in all its purity, uncontaminated as elsewhere, by commerce with other races. Without daring, even if we desired, to dissent from such authority, we would venture to suggest, that, however probable it may be that some of the Doric features may have been purely preserved by the Spartans, their general life resembles rather that of any small body of conquerors, living in the midst of a conquered race. The habits and discipline of the camp, endured for years as a necessity, became afterwards a second nature, so that the Spartan inherited, as a gift of nature, the aptitude and discipline of the soldier.

Three distinct races of men occupied Laconia. The Spartan or genuine Dorian, the superior conquering race, which consisted, at the time of Lycurgus, of nine thousand

probable, that in coining iron money, the ancient Spartans did precisely what we now do, i. e., used the most precious available metal.

Anciently, copper served the same purposes for which we employ iron. All instruments of war and of domestic use were made of that metal. Its relative abundance, and cheapness, were, doubtless, owing to the fact, that as nature produces it in a state of purity, it was, in the infancy of art, more easily procured than iron, which though more abundantly distributed, requires the aid of the chemist to make it fit for use, and was, therefore, both more dear and more rare. The retention of the iron coin by the Spartans, after the more precious metals were used everywhere else, is a Lycurgean institution only in so far as it is consistent with the conservative policy of his system.

families. The Periæci, or native Lacedemonians, who at the same period numbered thirty thousand families; and the Helots, or slaves, whose origin as well as name, are involved in impenetrable obscurity.

A small body of the Dorian race, conducted by leaders of the family of Hercules, having effected a settlement in Laconia, it became necessary to secure the possession of the conquered territory to the victorious few, without destroying or ruining the vanquished. Under circumstances not very dissimilar, the Norman conquerors of England introduced the feudal system, which, recognizing the supremacy of the king, established a regular gradation of dependence and subjection, which bound together the monarch, and his nobles, and dependants, and riveted for ages the chains of the hapless majority. The Dorians appear to have reserved, for their own use, the city of Sparta, and nine thousand out of thirty-nine thousand portions of the land. The remaining thirty thousand portions were assigned, or rather abandoned to the native Lacedemonians, who, from the circumstance of dwelling on the borders of the land reserved to the Spartans, were called Periæci, or dwellers round about. The slaves were distributed everywhere to till the lands of both parties. On what tenure these were held, whether as personal chattels as with us, or as the common property of the State, or as *ascripti glebæ*, as in modern Europe, does not appear.

Every reader of history is familiar with the general features of Spartan life and manners. An absolute negation of self, and a surrender of the whole person, body and soul, to the State, lie at the basis of their whole constitution. The child was educated by the State, and the course of education consisted in little more than the training of the body, and the fostering of moral and intellectual conservatism. The mind was neglected, except in so far as a moderate degree of mental culture was required to teach the cunning of the strategist, and to inculcate the fortitude of the martyr. All employment, that of arms alone excepted, was regarded as dishonourable. Life was spent in public; (this, however, was not a Spartan peculiarity;) the citizens dined together in messes of a regulated number, and on food prescribed by

law. The husband saw his wife by stealth, and never openly acknowledged his marriage until he could assert the claims of posterity. The physical end of marriage was kept constantly in view; and women so trained to consider their vocation primarily that of becoming mothers, that if a marriage proved unfruitful, through the supposed or imputed impotence of the husband, a stranger, or even a slave, might, without shocking the moral sense, be introduced for the purpose of preventing the extinction of a privileged family.

Whatever were the principles on which the land was originally distributed, it is certain that agrarianism, in the popular acceptation of the term, formed no element of the Spartan Constitution. Like all close corporations, (for they rigidly excluded all commerce and alliance with strangers,) their numbers are continually declining. Thus from nine thousand, which appears to have been their original number, they were reduced, at the period of the Persian invasion, to eight thousand, and when Agis the Fourth attempted his memorable reformation, their numbers had dwindled to less than a thousand. During the whole historical period we read of rich heiresses;* and though it was considered unworthy to be either a buyer, or a seller of land, yet land somehow did accumulate in certain hands, and Spartans of pure blood were continually losing caste and place, from their inability to contribute to the *syssytia* or mess, in which as a distinctive characteristic, all Spartans took their meals.

The training of the Spartans was military, but their military spirit was conservative, not aggressive. They conquered and took possession of Messenia, and, from that time until the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, they appear to have been satisfied with their position, and to have devoted all their attention to its preservation. Their constitution was a close oligarchy. Two kings, presiding over a

* It is remarkable that most names become extinct, and the blood perpetuated in the female line. Witness, in Lower Carolina, the numerous families descended from the extinct names of Gendron, St. Julien, Maham, Peyre, &c. With the lower animals it is said to be otherwise. Races terminate with males.

Senate or Council of Elders, whose qualification was a life of sixty years, apparently administered the affairs of State. But, as in a body elected for life, the youngest member of which must be at least sixty years of age, senility and imbecility were necessarily to be expected, the true directors of public business were a body of magistrates, called ephori or overseers. This board, a sort of extra constitutional and anti-Lycurgean excrescence, very like the famous Council of Ten of the Venetian oligarchy, practically governed the State, exercised a control even over the kings, and gave to the body politic that consistency which enabled it to preserve itself, while all the other States were experiencing the ills of anarchy and revolution. As all mental culture was ignored, and all intellectual accomplishments were forbidden, eloquence never flourished in Sparta. Written laws were prohibited, and the few fundamental institutions of the State, the primary maxims of Spartan life, were learned from a few *rhetra* or rhythmical sentences, which they were taught to chaunt from infancy, and which, like the unwritten laws of England, were supposed to contain the perfection of reason. A *bon mot* is recorded of Alcibiades, who to a eulogium pronounced in his presence on the stoic fortitude of the Spartans, and their contempt of death, replied, that the Spartans deserved no credit for despising death, inasmuch as their life possessed no charm which could tempt a wise man.

It is never to be forgotten, however, that when the institutions of the Spartans are considered, they must be regarded as those of the Dorian few, not of the Lacedemonian people. The Periæci lived like the other Greeks. They dwelt in their cities, cultivated their lands, prosecuted trades, engaged in commerce and manufactures. Certain articles of Laconian manufacture were always held in the highest estimation. The Periæci kept the State from degenerating into a condition of savage life. Dependent as a conquered, an inferior, and a tributary race, on their superiors, they never rose to any sort of political or military importance, and if they ever produced a single citizen who was promi-

nent in any department of life, we have forgotten his name.* Such is the hard lot of a dependent and inferior race. And yet, in the process of time, they entertained a fellow feeling with their conquerors. They contributed largely to swell the numbers of the confederated army at Platea. Nay, so completely had the notion of a common nationality taken possession of all minds, that Brasidas, in one of his last speeches to his army, which must have been composed almost exclusively of Periæci, dwells upon the distinctive peculiarity of their position. "Our government," he says, "is not of the character in which the many rule the few, but rather the smaller number the greater; having acquired their power by no other means than by being virtuous." Thus insensibly are the sentiments of the dominant party transmitted to all classes in the State, and thus will a Scotchman, or an Irishman, now exult in remembering the glories of Crecy, or of Agincourt.

All of the inhabitants of Laconia are shrouded in mystery. Who the Helots or slaves were, and why so called, are questions to which no satisfactory reply has ever been returned. Nor is it known on what tenure they were held, or what was the difference, if any, in the condition of the slaves of the Spartans, and those of the Periæci. They performed all menial offices; they exclusively tilled the land, for even Agricultural labor was dishonorable to a Spartan oligarch; but whether the produce of their labor was, as with us, the absolute property of their masters, or whether they paid fixed and certain tributes, are questions not now easy of solution. Many melancholy pictures are drawn of Helot life. Thus we are told that they were made in every possible and wanton way, to feel their degradation; causelessly beaten to remind them of their servile condition; intoxicated to exhibit to the children of their masters, a warning against excess in wine drinking, and that annually, the most discreet of the Spartan youth were sent out on the Crypteia or secret expe-

* Lysander is said to have been a mothôn. Now it is doubtful whether this expression designates the offspring of a Spartan lady by her slave, i. e., a desperate resort to perpetuate her family name; or an adopted stranger, whether Helot or Lacedæmonian.

dition, the object of which was, to lie in ambush and murder, by day as well as by night, all the Helots who might fall in their way. Bating the cases of murder, we think this expedition might appear intelligible to a Southern planter, if we consider it a sort of civil police or patrol, performed, not statedly but generally, with a view to watch and repress rising disorders among the slaves. If it were an annual murdering expedition, there can be no doubt but that the unfortunate slaves would have taken effectual measures to protect themselves, as may be inferred from facts presently to be noticed. Bad as their condition may have been, it has obviously been exaggerated. Helots might acquire their freedom. The Neodamades, liberti or freedmen, (new people as their names implies,) became as numerous as their masters. Helots were employed as nurses to children, and intelligent slaves superintended the education of their young masters. Violence and wanton tyranny were doubtless exercised, but these were exceptions, and we never hear of any instances of cold, deliberate and heartless because selfish cruelty, equal to that lately practised by the Duchess of Sutherland and her neighbors towards their clansmen and kinsfolks of Northern Scotland.* Thirty-five thousand Helots appeared in the confederate army at the battle of Platea, forming thus nearly half that glorious body, and seven-eighths of the contributions of the Spartans. When slaves are armed to fight the battles of their masters, no very bad understanding can exist between the two relations.

It is not to be concealed, however, that serious fears were entertained from this source, and that they sometimes led to the most serious and appalling results. Not long before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, an insurrection of Helots proved so formidable that the assistance Athens was invoked

* It is not as generally known as it deserves to be, that in the early part of the present century, the late Duchess of Sutherland and other proprietors of lands in Northern Scotland, ejected all their tenants, their clansmen and kinsfolks, from their estates, and converted them into sheep farms. As an economical measure it was judicious. But what became of the poor peasantry, those faithful Celts who never hesitated to stand between their chief and death? It would be an interesting inquiry for the ladies of Stafford House. For a full account of this heartless movement see *North American Review* for October, 1847.

to suppress it. And during the occupation of Pylos by the Athenians, the following incident is said to have taken place.

"Indeed," we quote from Thucydides, "through fear of their youth and great numbers (i. e. of the Helots) they (i. e. the Spartans) even perpetrated the following deed. They made proclamation that as many of the Helots as claimed to have done the State most service against the enemy, should be picked out, professing that they would give them their liberty; thus applying a test to them, and thinking that those who severally claimed to be first made free, would also, through their high spirit, be the first to attack them. Having thus selected as many as two thousand, the Helots crowned themselves, and went round to the temples on the strength of having gained their freedom. But the Spartans soon after did away with them, and no one ever knew by what means they were severally despatched."

It would be impossible to convey a more terrible idea of the secret police of a State, than is done by the few simple words with which this narrative is concluded—*no one ever knew by what means they were severally despatched*. As we roam about the old prisons of the Venetian republic, we are filled with horror at the mysterious power of the dreaded Council of Ten; but what is the occasional disappearance of a man from a crowded metropolis, whose port, filled with vessels from every part of christendom, might facilitate the escape of the suspected criminal or suspicious conspirator, when compared with the disappearance of two thousand persons, who had been openly rewarded for their merit, and who, in the exuberance of their joy crowned themselves with garlands, and thus became more certainly marked for the insidious secret police? This extract from Thucydides, however, gives no countenance to the imputation of general ill usage or general discontent. On the contrary it may be assumed as an evidence of the great latitude of conduct allowed them. An obscure feeling of nationality might have armed the Helots against the Persian invaders, who would probably bring them no change for the better; but when Pylus was actually in the hands of the enemy, and a reward held out to them to desert to the enemies of their masters, that Helots should have been found who claimed, and justly claimed, to have done the State service against the Atheni-

ans, is truly a proof that they were not the miserable wretches which some would fain describe them to have been.

We might dwell further on the institutions of Sparta, and descend to particulars which would be both entertaining and instructive, but our limits forbid the attempt, and we have yet a difficult and labyrinthine maze to unravel in the view of the Athenian polity. We shall therefore close this part of our sketch with the following summary. The institutions of Sparta, though impracticable as a rule of action for every class of persons in a State, were not so when applied only to a dominant minority. The government of Laconia by the Spartans, was a close oligarchy—one which, though it appeared to have prevented the governed race from assuming a respectable position among their Grecian contemporaries, yet must have been tolerant and inoffensive, as in the whole course of Grecian history we never hear of any contentions between the Spartans and the Periæci.—The Spartans, though an oligarchy for Laconia, were among themselves a republic. Social ranks must have existed, for the kings were hereditary, and pretended to be descended from Hercules. A democracy they could not have been, for the people, though allowed to determine questions, had no power either to initiate measures, propose amendments, or to deliberate. The bare power of assent or denial was all that they possessed. The true power of the oligarchy was vested in the Ephori. It was the wisdom of that magistracy which sustained the declining corporation, and preserved entire the peculiar institutions of Sparta long after the other States had forgotten the glory of their common history.—And we would observe, as illustrating the necessity under which all oligarchical bodies exist, of maintaining a hateful magistracy, that both this board, and the Council of Ten of Venice, were regarded as necessary evils, and tolerated in both cities from the conviction deeply entertained, that on them depended the conservation of their peculiar institutions.

The institutions of Athens, unlike those of Sparta, were perpetually undergoing change. The only fixed principle which lay at their base, was a tendency to democracy. Democratic Athens gave birth to those immortal spirits, but for

whom Athens would have been as obscure as Larissa, and perhaps as hard to be identified; democratic Athens has preserved the memory, and by her honied tongue rendered illustrious the fame of the Athens which preceded the democracy; and democratic Athens, by her own folly, committed the suicidal acts which laid her prostrate at the feet of haughty and savage Sparta.

Three epochs in the history of Athens, must be considered in a review of her institutions. First, the Solonian epoch, when order was evolved from anarchy, and the foundation of the republic laid. Secondly, the epoch of Clisthenes, when the power of the democracy began to be recognized; and lastly, the epoch of Pericles, when democracy reigned triumphant.

Monarchical despotism is not the spontaneous growth of the soil of Southern Europe. Kings were either the leaders of an aristocracy, or the foremost citizens of a republic.—The tyrants of the Greek cities generally derived their power from the people, and stood in opposition to the power of the nobles. What was the character of the Athenian monarchy at the epoch of Codrus' death, it is impossible to ascertain. After his death the royal title was abolished, and the executive power, with the modified powers of archon or governor, committed to his family in hereditary succession for life.—After ten generations the tenure of office was changed, and the term limited to ten years; and after seven of these decennial archonships, the office was not only made annual, but as we would now express it, put in commission and held by nine persons, who were required to be Eupatrids, or members of the noble families of the State.

In all the countries of antiquity, the hardships endured by debtors were a fruitful source of danger to the State. In modern society the creditor is always an interested friend of the debtor, because the contract between them is based upon an understanding of mutual interest, and the former can rarely benefit, but must generally suffer by the ruin of the latter. But in ancient times, the debtor might sell not only himself, but his children also, to satisfy the claims of a creditor; so that he whose necessities forced him to contract a

debt, saw before him the gloomy prospect of servitude in the distance. His services and those of his family might be more valuable than his money. Hence it was the interest of his creditor to urge him to destruction. Such was the condition of the law in Athens when Solon became an eminent citizen, and to him all parties appealed, to devise a means of extricating the city from the intolerable confusion into which the miseries of the people, the oppressions of the nobles, and the recklessness of contending factions had plunged her. Solon accepted the commission, and success crowned his labors.

A great deal of twaddle has been written about the wisdom of the Solonian laws. He is reported himself to have declared, that he did not consider them the best possible laws, but the best which the Athenians were capable of receiving, as if the only test of laws were not their adaptedness to the people for whom they are intended! Solon prepared the way for the future democracy by breaking down the old aristocracy of Eupatrids, and substituting one based on wealth. To wealth he assigned honors, duties and taxes. To the poor he gave the right of voting. He abolished the law which bound the debtor's person to his creditor; and by reducing the rate of interest to a moderate tariff, and probably by tampering with the coin and raising the nominal value of money, he placed the discharge of debts within reach of all creditors. Whatever may have been the details of the plan, it proved successful; the clamors of creditors were unheeded, and Athens was never again disturbed by the insurrectionary tumults of insolvent debtors.

The Court of Areopagus was a time honored institution of Athens, but one of which we know very little. An aristocratic institution it certainly was, as all the archons, on retiring from office, sat in it as a matter of right. To this Court was assigned all trials for homicide, and to it the archons had been accountable for their administration. Solon, himself a member of this court, is said to have enlarged its jurisdiction, but we have no account of the mode or of the new matter referred to it. The accountability of the retiring archons was removed from this court, and transferred to

a general assembly of the people. This general assembly, which would appear to be the extreme developement of a democratic society, was tempered by a salutary restraint, providing that nothing could be submitted to it which had not before been considered by a preliminary senate or council of four hundred men, elected by the people from among the tax paying citizens. Even this modified power of the Ecclesia, as the general assembly was called, produced in a short time very important results.

A remarkable law of Solon prescribed public dishonor on any citizen who in a state of sedition, should hold himself aloof and take sides with neither party. The law is remarkable because it prescribes a punishment not for sedition, but for apathy, and it was not without reason considered as tending to promote public tranquillity. Successful sedition is always glorious revolution ; and the success of many a political adventurer is to be ascribed, not to the action and encouragement of popular sentiment, but to popular indifference : a very effectual means therefore of expressing the rising spirit of seditious ambition, is the certainty of being obliged to encounter an active popular sentiment. The great defect in this law is, that no sufficient measures are provided to insure its execution. It was afterwards superseded by the law of Ostracism, of which more hereafter.

It was the glory of Solon's legislation to have restored order and harmony to a distracted country ; to have laid the foundations of a democracy, and to have impressed the spirit of his genius upon the whole subsequent policy of Athens. In order to accustom the people to laws thus framed, he obtained leave of absence for ten years, and departed, having first exacted of the people an oath, to preserve his laws inviolate until his return.

One of the first historical facts, illustrating the practical operation of Solon's laws, is, by a singular fatality, the establishment of the tyranny of Pisistratus. This artful and ambitious nobleman, desiring to obtain supreme power in the city, having wounded himself, and spread a report that he had been assaulted by his enemies for his devotion to the interests of the people, persuaded the senate to propose, and

obtained from the Ecclesia or popular assembly a decree by which he was permitted the attendance of a body guard.— With this guard he seized upon the Acropolis, and became tyrant of Athens, which he not only governed during his life, but transmitted as an inheritance to his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus. So true is it, that democracy is the natural preparation of a State for despotism.

Democracy was, however, not the institution of Solon, but its inevitable result. An oligarchy was still recognized, and the higher offices of the State limited to the fortunate class. The next epoch in the political history of Athens is that of Clisthenes, when the republic became more fully developed.

In the history of all the old States of Europe, it is observable that the right of citizenship appears to have been enjoyed only by means of a connection, either of family or religious ties with some corporation or tribe. However, political rights might differ among the several members of these corporations, to enjoy any, the least, it was necessary to be associated with some one of these corporations. Thus the right of voting does not appear to be vested in one, because he is a citizen of Athens, but he is a citizen of Athens, because recognized as a member of a tribe. He who belonged to no tribe was an outcast, and could claim no political rights. In Athens four of these corporations or tribes existed, whose origin is lost in remote antiquity, and the preliminary senate of Solon was composed of one hundred members, elected from each tribe. Solon had made considerable progress towards democracy, but he left this character of a close corporation untouched. In this country we have nothing which resembles this feature of the old commonwealths. A very faint analogy may be found in the condition of citizens of the District of Columbia, who though citizens of the United States, are, from not being citizens of a particular State, virtually disfranchised. In this case, however, it is merely an affair of locality, as the right may be either lost or gained by crossing a border. Much closer analogies are said to have existed in the Medieval German States, and hence reference is frequently made by Niebuhr to some of the older translators of Livy, for the elucidation

of points which have baffled the ingenuity of more modern and perhaps more learned scholars.

The family of Clisthenes had been actively opposed to the usurpation of Pisistratus, and was in consequence banished. Clisthenes himself had been the leader in the revolutionary movement which drove Hippias from Athens. He addressed himself to the reconstruction of the constitution, and as he pretended to revise that of Solon, he has not only failed to obtain the popular fame which he really deserved, but his own amendments have passed current as part of the original institutions of Solon. His first step was to abolish the four existing Ionic tribes or corporations to which we have already alluded, and to substitute in their place ten Athenian tribes, which should include all Athenians except slaves and foreigners. The preliminary senate was made to consist of five hundred, or fifty citizens taken by lot from each tribe.—To the Heliaia or general assembly of citizens, upwards of thirty years old, were referred trials for certain grave offences. The Areopagus, being composed of retired archons, must have been filled with the creatures of Pisistratus and Hippias. This court was deprived of some of its jurisdiction, and the treasury committed to a board of commissioners which sat in an inner chamber of the temple of Minerva. The archons also suffered a loss of authority; the third archon or Polemarch alone retained his military authority; and the door to this dignity opened to the three first classes of citizens, i. e. to all who paid any taxes. Ten generals or *strategoi*, were annually elected, one for each tribe, and this military board gradually absorbed all executive functions. Thus we find in the constitution of Clisthenes the following developments of the principles of Solon. 1. Eligibility to the archonship extended to all tax paying citizens. 2. The judicial power of the Ecclesia extended from examining the conduct of retiring archons, to actual trials of offences against the State, with these additions: 1. The military, and by degrees the executive authority of the archons transferred to the *strategoi*, a body not recognized by Solon; 2. The transfer of the treasury from the Areopagus to a board of commissioners. Besides these changes a sensible impression

must have been made upon the old prejudices of the people, by the substitution of the new political tribes for the time honored Ionic tribes, based on ties of family and religion, and tracing their origin up to the mythological epoch of Hellen and his sons, the fabled ancestors of the whole Hellenic family.

The most remarkable feature in the constitution of Clisthenes, one which has furnished inexhaustible themes for declamation, is Ostracism. By this process, so called from *Ostrakon*, a small shell, on which votes were written, it was lawful to banish from the city, for a term of ten years, any citizen who in the judgment of six thousand citizens, voting secretly by ballot, was dangerous to the peace of the State. Whenever any citizen was so judged, he was allowed ten days to settle his affairs after which he was to depart. He was allowed the use and enjoyment of his estates, and at the expiration of the term of banishment, might return without any stain on his character.

To banish a man for no crime, at the mere will of the people, appears at the first blush the extreme of injustice and harshness; and as some of the most illustrious citizens of Athens, including even Aristides the just, fell under the operation of the law, a plausible ground is afforded for the denunciations which are inveighed against it, and it will forever continue to furnish a theme for the patriot whose popularity is on the wane.

According to our understanding of the law of Ostracism, it appears to have been a salutary provision for preserving the tranquillity of a democracy. And as long as the law was administered in the simple spirit on which it was contrived, it was a successful experiment. The law of Solon imposed a condemnation of dishonor upon any citizen who, in a state of sedition, took sides with no party. The object of this law was to prevent seditious tumults by making it necessary for any one who should desire to excite them, so to calculate his strength as to insure a glorious revolution as the result. The law of Ostracism sought to prevent seditious tumults by removing from the State those who might agitate them. It attached no stigma to the banished man, on the contrary

it was rather a compliment, inasmuch as it was a clear intimation that he was considered too strong for the safety of the State. The history of the world would have been very different if certain individuals had been removed from the presence and influence of their country. Had Cromwell's voyage to America not been prevented by the malignant tyranny of Charlestown, there might perhaps have been no history of the rebellion. Great personal influence is dangerous to a democracy, and should ever be regarded with suspicion. Ostracism was not a popular clamor excited against a citizen—no one was brought up to be ostracised. Doubtless the occasion of its exercise was a state of political excitement and deep partizan feelings. But no motion was made against any citizen in particular. An appeal was made to the citizens to the following effect: "Is there amongst us any citizen whose presence is dangerous to the repose of the republic? If so declare him." If six thousand persons agreed in condemning the same individual, or more properly, if they expressed their fears of danger to be apprehended from the same individual, he was banished; if less than that number of votes was given, the question was decided in the negative. The story of Aristides being requested, by an unlettered Athenian, to write his own name upon the shell because he was tired of hearing him constantly called the Just, is not told as it really deserves to be related. The citizen who so excels his fellows in virtue is dangerous; and the more dangerous in proportion to his integrity. Humanity at best is frail, and the most unsullied virtue is in danger of falling into the pit. Aristides himself is said to have declared, that if the Athenians were wise they would banish both Themistocles and himself. The Athenians were wise, and banished only him. Washington acted with the greatest wisdom, when he refused to use his influence to arrest the progress of Shay's insurrection in Massachusetts. "It is not *influence* that our people want," he said, "let us have a government." Had he stepped from this high position, there would have been one unquestionable spot on his political character.

But after all, institutions must be judged by their results.

That of Ostracism, introduced by Clisthenes, who returned to Athens B. C. 510, was abolished about B. C. 410, having endured about one hundred years. The occasion of its abolition shows the estimation in which it was regarded by the Athenians. Nicias and Alcibiades, rival candidates for the leadership of the city, endeavored by means of Ostracism to banish each other. Before the day appointed for the voting arrived, their differences had been compromised, and the vote, by a trick of the two leaders, fell against Hyperbolus a harmless and undistinguished citizen. Then the people saw that they had been deluded; they resolved that the time honored institution had been perverted to a ridiculous purpose, and it was thenceforth forever abolished.

It was during this century of its active operation, that Athens performed those mighty deeds, and gave birth to those master spirits, which, through the agency of her poets, her orators and her historians, have made her memory sweet forever. It was the matchless glory of that century that kindled the intellectual torch which still illuminates the world. It was the age of Miltiades and Themistocles of Aristides and Cymon. All of these except the first fell under the weight of Ostracism, but they did not the less devote their whole souls to the service of their country, and the two last were recalled in times of danger to do good service to the State. When republicanism became effete, and democracy reigned triumphant, the banished Alcibiades turned his genius against his country and ruined her, but under the republic of Clisthenes, no Athenian ever forgot his duty to his country.—The banished tyrant Hippias, became the counsellor of the Persian King, and sought by his power to be restored to his country and dignity; but the ostracised Aristides, an exile at Egina, warns his personal enemy, Themistocles of the movements of the Persian fleet, and in the hour of Athens' greatest peril, the two enemies become reconciled, and laying aside all personal rivalry, join heart and hand to oppose their country's enemies. It may be true (for who, at this distance of time, can refute the supposition?) that some able and deserving citizens were deterred by the fear of ostracism, from proffering their services to their country; but if there

were any such, they were not missed; they were not wanted.

The founders of the democracy appeared, from an instinctive dread of its excesses, to have attempted to impose limitations upon the popular will, some of which are of a very singular character. One of these we shall notice, inasmuch as a knowledge of it, will relieve the people of Athens of two very injurious imputations. We refer to the punishment of Miltiades, and the execution of Socrates. Whenever a person was prosecuted before the *Helicæa* for a crime for which the law had provided no specific punishment, the prosecutor always proposed a penalty in the bill of indictment. If the party accused was found guilty, it was then proposed to him to name his own punishment, and between the two penalties, that named by the prosecutor, and that named by the culprit, the *Heliaia* was obliged to choose. No middle course was allowed; no arriving at truth by means of calculating the average opinion of the court. Thus when Miltiades was fined fifty talents for misconduct in his naval command, this large penalty was the alternative proposed by himself, and adopted by the court, in opposition to the penalty of death proposed by the prosecutor. His case must have appeared very bad to himself and to his friends, when so heavy a penalty was suggested as the alternative. A more melancholy instance of the operation of this law was exhibited in the case of Socrates, who being called upon to propose his own punishment, absolutely refused to do so, and claimed to be honored rather than punished. Had he named any pecuniary fine, it would doubtless have been adopted, for the Athenians were not generally a blood thirsty people; but his obstinacy left his judges no alternative, and he died.

Such are the main features of the Constitution of Clis-thenes, which continued in operation, with a constant tendency towards a perfect democracy, for nearly a hundred years. When the Athenians returned to their homes after the battle of Platea, as all parties had exhibited great zeal in defence of their common country, Aristides, himself a Eupatrid, proposed that the office of archon should thenceforth

be free to all classes, and when Pericles appears in history, that dignity was already conferred by lot.

The age of Pericles is the epoch of the full development of the Athenian democracy. The growing monster now assumes a definite shape, and as the State was rapidly approaching its destiny, now, too, she put forth her fairest blossoms, and seemed perhaps more firmly established than ever. This was the age of the great dramatists. Now too lived Socrates and Thucydides, Plato and Xenophon, (who by the way was a renegade.) Now the archons were chosen by lot, and, of course, deprived of all power; the polemarch lost his military authority, and the whole body reduced to be nothing more than presidents of the dikasteries or judicial tribunals. The enthusiastic patriotism which during the Persian invasion animated every class of Athenians, induced Aristides after the return from Platea, to open the dignity to all citizens without distinction, and thus the last vestige of privilege was effaced. But inasmuch as in the operation of the law, the fourth class was practically excluded, the lot was introduced in order to insure equality. The lot was not, however, drawn indiscriminately. The archons were selected from candidates who had proposed themselves, and who were subjected to a previous scrutiny (*dokimasia*) respecting their condition, character and fitness for the office. As they received no pay, and were invested with very moderate powers, it is not likely that either very poor, or very eminent men, ever presented their names to the scrutiny. They were presidents of the dikasteries or popular courts of justice; and these courts being a leading feature of Pericles' constitution, deserve special notice.

Six thousand citizens, annually selected by lot, were sworn to discharge the office of dikasts, or as they would now be called, jurymen. These were distributed into ten pannels of five hundred each, leaving a reserve (talesmen) of one thousand, to supply vacancies, and act on extraordinary cases. When a case was brought before a magistrate for trial, he selected a pannel by lot, summoned it, and acted as its president. Occasionally more than one pannel would be summoned; and, in order to insure their attendance every mem-

ber present received a stipend from the public treasury. This popular court assumed all judicial functions, and the jurisdiction of the old Areopagus was restricted to cases of intentional homicide.

As every measure now adopted was done by the popular voice, expedients were devised to insure something like order and consistency in the popular legislation. Thus a Board of Commissioners was instituted, whose office it was to defend existing laws, (*Nomophylakes*) and whenever a citizen proposed the repeal of a law, this board employed counsel to resist the innovation. This proving, as might have been expected, a feeble conservative barrier, a more efficient one was found in the indictment called the *Graphe paranomon*, whereby the mover of any law was held responsible for its consequences, even though it should receive the popular sanction. Any person might institute a prosecution against him within the year. If convicted, the law was annulled, and the mover punished at the discretion of the court, (i. e., a choice being made between the penalty proposed in the indictment and the alternative offered by the culprit.) This indictment might also be preferred after the expiration of the year, but conviction in this case effected only the quashing of the law, not the punishment of the mover. In both cases, however, and in all cases of public prosecutions, the prosecutor was liable to a fine of one thousand drachms if his motion was not sustained by a fifth part of the votes of the court.

The *Graphe paranomon* will be celebrated as long as Grecian literature is cultivated, as to it we owe those two master-pieces of forensic eloquence from Æschines and Demosthenes, on the impeachment of Ctesiphon by the former, for having unconstitutionally proposed the award of a civic crown to Demosthenes. As this impeachment was brought on some years after the alleged offence, it was obvious that Æschines had no object in view but to discharge his malignity against his celebrated rival. His impeachment was not sustained by a fifth part of the votes, and being either unable, or unwilling to pay the penalty, he went into exile, and opened a school at Rhodes, where he is said to have

paid his remarkable compliment to the speech by which his great antagonist had foiled him. Posterity will never regret the *Graphe paranomon*, as it has furnished us with two master-pieces of eloquence, valuable not only as rhetorical compositions, but as containing authentic accounts by contemporary witnesses, of the causes of the rise of Philip, and the utter subversion of the Grecian States.

Having thus briefly noticed the more prominent features of the two leading States of Greece, a rapid glance at the fall of Athens may not be uninteresting, as it shows how the same democracy, which in its infancy is powerful for good, contains within itself the elements of destruction.

The seventeenth year of the Peloponnesian war, was the epoch at which culminated the fortunes of Alcibiades, a relative of Pericles, a man celebrated for the versatility of his genius, and his unprincipled ambition. With an appreciation of philosophy so keen that Socrates delighted in his intimacy, he could deign to enjoy the society of all the swaggering blades and roystering youths, who would be likely to flourish in a great city like Athens. He was not only at home, but a leader in every society, and though young, and not even then undistinguished as a soldier, he panted after the glory of effecting a brilliant conquest, which would at once double the resources of Athens, and insure her a more triumphant hegemony than she had ever yet enjoyed. He proposed an expedition against Syracuse. This proposal was warmly opposed by Nicias and the other Generals, who considered it little short of madness, but the persuasive eloquence of Alcibiades carried the measure, and he and Nicias, and Lamachus, were appointed the Generals to conduct the expedition. Nicias unwilling to retire into private life, unwisely accepted the commission; but, as a last resort, endeavoured to dissuade the Athenians from the project by his extravagant estimate of its cost. His most extravagant demands were eagerly granted, and no further excuse for delay presenting itself, preparations for the ill-fated expedition were forthwith commenced.

From time immemorial the city of Athens had been ornamented with Hermæ, or statues of the God Hermes, which,

placed originally from motives of religious reverence, and still held in superstitious traditional veneration, never exhibited any other appearance than that which they bore when art was in its infancy. They were made of marble, of the common stature of a man; the upper part was cut into a head, face, neck and bust; the lower part was left as a quadrangular pillar, broad at the base, without arms, body or legs, but with the significant marks of the male sex in front. Old popular superstition had consecrated these figures in the hearts of the Athenians, and to mutilate one, was to inflict a shock on the moral feelings of the people, which no wise man would voluntarily undertake to do.

Alcibiades was the soul of every company of which he formed a part. At a prayer meeting he would have stirred up the most devout by the exuberance of his spiritual outpourings. At a convivial meeting he would, by his gay and sparkling humor, have prevented any cloud from darkening, for a moment, the hilarity of the assembly; and, at the end of the frolic, none would have outstripped him in dexterity in transposing sign boards, tearing off door-knockers, leading off charivari serenades, or in any of those gay, and intellectual amusements, by which the ingenious youth of cities bring their festivities to a close. One morning, when the preparations for the Syracusan expedition were nearly completed, the Athenians were horror-stricken by the discovery that every statue of Hermes had been mutilated during the preceding night. Great consternation prevailed throughout the city; immense rewards were offered for the discovery of the perpetrators of the sacrilege. Every effort was made to bring the offenders to light, for the crime was regarded not only as ominous of the fate of the expedition, which was now ready, but as indicative of a conspiracy for effecting a revolution which was aimed against the democracy.

Some servants who had been waiting on the drunken frolics of their masters, gave information of the mutilation by those young persons of some other statues, and further reported that in their frolics they had impiously violated the sacred mysteries of Ceres, by a mock celebration of them in certain private houses. This was a sacrilege as damning

as the mutilation of the Hermæ, and in this charge Alcibiades was implicated. He indignantly denied the charge and demanded a trial; he urged upon the Athenians, the impropriety of sending out for their general a man over whom a capital trial was impending, and earnestly entreated that he might be brought to trial without delay, and if found guilty made to die. But the extent of his popularity defeated these most reasonable arguments. The people were unwilling to proceed capitally against their favourite, and his secret enemies hoped to proceed more securely against him at their own opportunity. No trial was held and the expedition departed.

If any man could have succeeded in this enterprize, it was Alcibiades. His genius had planned it; his enthusiasm had made it popular. His associates were old and experienced generals, who, satisfied with laurels already won, were not disposed to risk their loss in a doubtful, if not dangerous enterprize. They were cautious, and as the result proved, let slip many a golden opportunity, which a younger and less experienced, but an enthusiastic soldier, would have seized and carried triumphantly. But no sooner was the fleet out of the harbour of Athens, than the enemies of Alcibiades began the work of detraction. The popular favourite was insidiously assailed in every way. The fickle populace listened to the charges, and before the expedition reached Syracuse, the leader and soul of the enterprize was recalled to stand a trial in which his life was involved.

Alcibiades retired from the army, but did not go home. Escaping from the Commissioners, he made his way to Sparta, and instantly directing against his country that genius which she would not permit to serve her, taught the Spartan dolts how to effectually beleaguer Athens, by establishing a fortress at Decelia.

Decelia is not above a dozen miles from Athens, and the erection of a fortress there, which the Spartans had never thought of before, placed Athens, as it were, under the guns of her enemy; the only hope was now with the army under Nicias. Had he retired from Sicily, Athens might have been saved. But a sense of duty impelled him to persevere in

an effort which he had considered hopeless upon the first. The result is known. The invaders were besieged in their camp, and in a desperate effort to make their escape were defeated, their officers murdered, and the whole army sold into slavery.

With the catastrophe of Syracuse expired the glory of Athens. Henceforth she lived in memory alone. A few brilliant flashes blazed out from time to time, but the most brilliant, and that which boded most hope to the republic, the victory of Arginusæ, was rewarded by the judicial murder of the generals who gained it. Thus did popular madness urge forward a dangerous expedition; popular fickleness recalled from its command the only man who could insure success; and, finally, popular superstition and popular brutality punished with death the victorious Generals, who prevented by a storm at sea, dared not endanger the living by an attempt to pay the customary, but unavailing honours to the dead.

After Themistocles had been ostracised, having been charged by the Lacedemonians with participation in the treason of Pausanias, he fled from Greece, and took refuge at the Court of Persia, proudly claiming hospitality on the ground that having done the Persians more harm than any other man, he was capable of doing them more good. This celebrated letter has been supposed to convey an intimation of treachery; this, however is only by implication; at any rate he was never guilty of any overt act of treason against his country. The ostracised Aristides co-operated cordially with his personal enemy in resisting the invaders of their country. In the palmy days of the republic no Athenian ever forget his love to his country. Honoured at home, or an exile, his heart was ever Athenian. But when the republic had ripened into a democracy, public spirit was no longer the same; and the moment Aristides lost the favour of his citizens, he raised a parricidal arm against his country, and laid her prostrate at the feet of her enemy.

The history of the world appears to indicate, that in the divine economy, nations, like individuals, have their appointed course, and that after finishing their work they

must die. At this lapse of time, what boots it, whether the career of Athens, and of Sparta, have been a century or two longer or shorter. That which last departed is so remote from us that, the epoch of the other seems removed by little more than the twinkling of an eye. The Spartan oligarchy dragged on a sluggish existence of six hundred years; the Athenian republic enjoyed a career of barely two centuries. If mere length of time be the thing to be desired, Sparta is to be commended beyond her rival. But if to live so as truly to enjoy life, to be great, glorious and happy, be the object of existence, then is the career of Athens more to be desired. Spartan life was low, sensual, savage, Athenian life, elegant, refined glorious. In Sparta, rugged fidelity and unimpeachable courage are the highest attributes of character. These qualities existed in Athens, adorned with every charm that could render them attractive.

Selfish Sparta, provided herself were secure, cared little for the liberties of Greece, Athens laboured incessantly to infuse into the common country a sense of nationality. Among the few names of Sparta which history has consecrated, are Lycurgus, the founder of their polity; Leonidas, the martyr at Thermopylæ; Pausanias, the General at Plataea; and, Brasidas, the hero of the Peloponnesian war. Against the name of Lycurgus, Athens might inscribe those of Solon, Clisthenes and Pericles. Against that of Leonidas, surely Miltiades, at Marathon, may be justly opposed. Against that of Pausanias, though numerous Athenians may be mentioned, we prefer to write that of Alcibiades, who was his equal as a soldier, and his superior as a traitor. Brasidas had his equals in a host of Athenian Generals. And what names can Sparta produce to rival those of Aristides and Themistocles, of Socrates and Demosthenes? None. The only unquestionably great man known in the annals of Sparta was Brasidas, and he, unfortunately, distinguished himself in civil wars, and is indebted for his fame to the pen of his enemy, the Athenian Thucydides. And when we leave the field of active life, and examine the productions of the intellect, the works of art, of thought, the monuments of the understanding, the history of Sparta is a blank.

Athens succumbed to the power of Sparta, after she had given examples of the highest development of public and private virtue. She fell, and Sparta trampled on all that she held dearest. But the day of retribution was not far distant; if her haughty adversary continues to hold a place in the history of the world, she owes it to the living pens of her humbled rival. The strength of the brute perishes with his life, but the spirit of the man enjoys an immortality of youth.

F. A. P.

ART. VII.—WHAT MOVES THE TABLE?

"*Table-Moving Explained*," by "VIVIAN," in the London Leader.

Report on Table Moving, in the London Medical Times and Gazette.

Letter of Professor Faraday to the Editor of the London Times.

Professor Faraday on Table Moving, from the London Athenæum.

WHEN Archimedes exclaimed "give me a fulcrum and I will move the world," his mind was wholly intent upon machines and mechanical contrivances. He was not soaring in the cloud-land of metaphysical speculation, but standing upon *terra firma*, hurling immense stones from his engines, or superintending the operation of his cranes, as they snatched up the enemy's ships from the water as easily as their long-legged name-sakes snatch up from the same element the finny tribe. He was—although he would have opened his eyes at being told so—a Baconian philosopher. He argued from experience. He proceeded from the known to the unknown. Profoundly versed in mathematical and mechanical sciences, and proud of the feats which through their assist-

ance he had performed, he seemed to think that there was scarcely any limit to their application, except the trifling circumstance of our being confined to this petty orb. But, fortunately, the philosopher held down by the inexorable law of gravitation could not fly off at a tangent—could not reach the desiderated *πov στῶ* from whence “to fright (or shake) the world from its propriety.” We say fortunately, on Sir Isaac’s account; for how in the face of such a fact could he ever have established his theory of universal gravitation? Or how could he ever have framed his chronology, if the precession of the equinoxes had been violently disturbed by a shove from the philosopher’s lever. Well, although neither Archimedes, nor any mathematician since his time, has ever found the fulcrum through which to move the material world, yet has there ever been a fulcrum, steady, reliable, immoveable, from which the intellectual and moral world has been, and ever will be moved by thousands of operators far feebler than Archimedes. That fulcrum is Human Credulity. The applied lever is, alas! too often charlitanism and imposture. Had Archimedes boldly asserted “I can move the world,” and asked with an air of confidence “do you not feel the motion!”—the chances are a thousand to one that people would have begun to think that they *did* feel a sort of tremulous movement—many would have positively averred that the earth did somehow quiver in a most surprising manner. But whenever a real philosopher advances a proposition, he does it so cautiously and diffidently—in a word so *philosophically*—that the mass of people pay little attention to what he says. Besides, he appeals to their reason—calls upon them to examine and compare—to *think*. Now Coleridge has very well said that most men would sooner be torn asunder by wild horses than submit to so racking a mental operation. It is not, therefore, after all, so very surprising that the real philosopher is contemned and neglected, while the bold and bare-faced juggler, the cheat and impostor, have always a mighty following—a credulous crowd, a-gape, admiring wondering—ready to believe what their leader so confidently asserts, partly because he asserts it so confidently, and partly because, as a

foregone conclusion, they are not required to examine or reason about it. When scientific men of a past generation first announced in the most cautious, and, as events soon proved, most unexaggerated terms, their belief that carriages might be propelled without horses, and at a rate of ten, or even fifteen miles an hour, they were laughed to scorn as dreamers and theorists. In vain they appealed to experiments—courted examination—offered to show that what they advanced was in perfect accordance with the well known and established laws of nature. They either could not get a hearing, or were listened to with civil contempt, as poor, half-crazed enthusiasts. And yet, at this very time, thousands upon thousands believed that an old bed-ridden hag could fly through the air astride of a broom-stick—pass into locked chambers through the key-hole—and give her neighbour's cattle the murrain, and his children convulsions by a glance of her eye. And such has ever been the history of the slow progress of truth on the one hand, and the almost limitless capacity of human credulity on the other.

Besides, there is a love of the mysterious and the marvelous no doubt, which is innate in the human mind—a sort of unconscious assertion, perhaps, on its part, of its spiritual nature and spiritual aspirations. It instinctively turns from “the sphere of the logical understanding”—to use the technical language of metaphysicians—the objective, the sensuous, the actual—to lose itself in the ideal, the boundless, the unexplored. Here it may revel, without control, in the indulgence of its dreams and its fancies; may speculate and authorize; demolish and construct systems; and, by ingeniously selecting its own tests, prove or disprove the truth of almost any thing it has a mind to. And if this has been the case with those who call themselves *par excellence* philosophical thinkers—and we think no one will deny it who has ever looked into even a few of the various Psychological and Theological systems which have been spun out of the restless brains of men—how much more must the unthinking, undisciplined, untrained minds of the masses be prone to embrace wild and extravagant notions on subjects out of the range of their daily experience. The history of every

age is filled with instances sometimes ludicrous, oftener lamentable of popular folly or madness, the result of popular credulity. But the present time seems most fruitful of them. Almost every year produces some new one. Mesmerism, Electro-Biology, Millerism, (which, clumsily enough, from its very assumption, assigned a limit to its own existence and is now defunct.) Mormonism, have all had a very successful run. But "Spiritual Rappings" and "Table-Tipping," twin-sisters; the youngest born of Human Credulity, begotten by Imposture, but delivered, nursed and reared by Weakness, Ignorance and Folly, seem likely to drive all rival humbugs from the stage of public attention. About "Spiritual Rappings," we have not the patience to say more than a few words. We cannot dismiss it with a jest when it is daily producing consequences so horrible—hypochondriacism, madness and suicide. We cannot gravely discuss a subject so revolting to every dear and holy sentiment of our nature. That any one we have loved, esteemed or respected on earth, should obey the summons of such vulgar, illiterate creatures, for instance, as those Fox women—spend hours in their back parlour pushing about their chairs, or making unintelligible thumps upon their tables, is, we confess, to our minds a sort of impropriety, or rather indecency, of which scarcely *anything* could convince us—and surely not the hap-hazard, blind, hit-or-miss replies which the Pythoiness interprets to her visitors at a dollar per head. Neither can we reconcile it with our ideas of a just, wise and benignant Deity, that he should allow his human creatures to be perplexed, distressed and crazed by communications from the spirit-world, which, so far as we can learn, have never tended to advance his glory, to further truth, or promote the happiness of men. But we are wasting serious words upon a subject unworthy of serious attention, and concerning which we would not have said this much, were it not for the melancholy fact that it has already exercised a baneful influence upon many even of the educated and cultivated. We are content to leave the matter to time and common sense, assured that it must sooner or later share the fate of its great prototype humbug, the Cocklane Ghost.

Perhaps it may amuse our readers to recall to their memories Horace Walpole's account of his visit to this specimen of the Spirit Rappings some ninety years ago.

"I could send you volumes on the ghost, and I believe if I were to stay a little, I might send its *life*, dedicated to my Lord Dartmouth, by the ordinary of Newgate, its two great patrons. A drunken parish clerk set it on foot out of revenge, the Methodists have adopted it, and the whole town of London think of nothing else. Elizabeth Canning and the Rabbit-woman were modest impostors in comparison of this, which goes on without saving the least appearances. The Archbishop, who would not suffer the Minor to be acted in ridicule of the Methodists, permits this farce to be played every night, and I shall not be surprised if they perform in the great hall at Lambeth. I went to hear it, for it is not an *apparition*, but an *audition*. We set out from the opera, changed our clothes at Northumberland House, the Duke of York, Lady Northumberland, Lady Mary Coke, Lord Hertford, and I, all in one hackney coach, and drove to the spot; it rained torrents; yet the lane was full of mob, and the house so full we could not get in; at last they discovered it was the Duke of York, and the company squeezed themselves into one another's pockets to make room for us. The house which is borrowed, and to which the ghost has adjourned, is wretchedly small and miserable; when we opened the chamber, in which were fifty people, with no light but one tallow candle at the end, we tumbled over the bed of the child to whom the ghost comes, and whom they are murdering in such insufferable heat and stench. At the top of the room are ropes to dry clothes. I asked if we were to have rope dancing between the acts? We had nothing; they told us, as they would at a puppet-show, that it would not come that night till seven in the morning, that is, when there are only 'prentices and old women. We stayed, however, till half an hour after one. The Methodists have promised their contributions; provisions are sent in like forage, and all the taverns and ale-houses in the neighbourhood make fortunes. The most diverting part is to hear people wondering *when it will be found out*—as if there was anything to find out—as if the actors would make their noises when they can be discovered."—*Walpole's Letters*, Vol. IV., p. 204.

With reference to "Table-Tipping," which the amateurs who dabble in it vehemently protest is a very different affair from "Spirit Rappings," (although they *will* interrogate

the mahogany as if it were a sentient a prophesying, nay ! an omniscient spirit,) we have recently met with so thorough and satisfactory an explanation of it, by a writer in an English newspaper, (the London Leader,) that we have penned these pages chiefly for the purpose of laying it before our readers, in the hope that with the majority of reasonable people it will set the matter at rest for ever. Without further prelude, we will let the writer (whose *nom de plume* is "Vivian,") propound his theory of Table-Moving.

"The *fact* that if three or more persons stand round a small table, with their hands resting on it, each little finger touching that of the hand belonging to a neighbour, after a lapse of about ten or fifteen minutes, the table will commence a slow circular movement, which becomes rapidly accelerated, and forces the persons to follow it—this fact, we say, is indisputable.

"But what does this fact imply? What is the explanation of the seeming marvel? Have we here the revelation of a new agency, or is the fact referrible to well-known agencies? The question is not without its importance; not only from the interest now following the subject, and the eminence of the names which countenance the absurd theories thrown off in explanation, but also from the light which it may shed on many very delicate questions of organic action and of popular credulity. It is high time that those who pretend to lead opinion, through the press, should rigorously examine this matter, when a journal like the Literary Gazette, which has high scientific pretensions, can print, without disavowal, an article by one of its contributors, wherein the following passage occurs. Alluding to the men who have borne public testimony to the fact, the writer remarks:—

"These gentlemen are not gullible fools easily imposed on; and it is not to be supposed for one moment that they would deliberately tell falsehoods for the sake of imposing on the public. *We have then the established fact, that the electricity from the human body can, so to speak, animate inanimate substances, and give life, and it may almost be said intelligence, to inert wood.* This is evidently one of those 'things not dreamt of in our philosophy,' of which the poet spoke. The speculations to which it has given rise are very curious. Some people will have it that it is nothing less than a marked advance towards the *discovery of the great and mysterious secret of what composes human life*, or at least that it is the opening of a wider and nobler field of human

knowledge than any now possessed; whilst others opine that it is a sort of unconscious magic, and hence they assume that the art of the Baptista Portas and the Michael Scotts was not only no imposture, as our ancestors and ourselves have sagely decided, but the greatest of all arts—the most wonderful of all sciences. So convinced is one of the principal daily papers that something extraordinarily great is destined to flow from this magnetism, or magic, or whatever it may be, that it has resolved to set apart a certain portion of its space daily to records of what may be done in it.

“Very instructive, and not a little amusing, is it to note, in the foregoing passage, the almost universal tendency to confound facts with inferences. The *fact* observed is, that tables move; the *inference* that it is moved by ‘electricity,’ is supposed to be ‘established’ by the fact, and away the theorist flies into the ‘immense inane’ of speculation.

“Cautious thinkers will cry, ‘not so fast! All that is at present established is the simple fact of a table (or a *hat*, for both objects are in favour,) moving when a chain is formed by persons round it. When we come to interrogate the *meaning* of this fact, we shall require something more than the rash assertion of ‘electricity’—a word always dragged in to cloak ignorance, and always more used by those entirely ignorant of electricity, than by those acquainted with some of its properties.’”

With many people “electricity” seems to be the *open sesame* to every mystery, from the theory of life to that of table-moving. The writer, whom we are quoting justly, says that it is a word oftener in the mouths of “those entirely ‘ignorant of electricity’” than of “those acquainted with some of its properties.” By way of illustration, we may mention that Humboldt, who has profoundly studied electricity and magnetism, and whose researches have thrown great light upon the latter subject particularly, has pronounced that neither electricity nor magnetism have anything to do with table moving—and he evidently considers the whole matter, as Mr. Thackeray would say, “a dreary and monotonous humbug.” His explanation as well as Arago’s, seems to be very much the same as “Vivian’s.” At least, we may fairly infer so, from various brief and imperfect notices which we have met with in the foreign correspondence of some of our leading American journals. Of M.

Arago's opinion more by and by. Let us resume the thread of "Vivian's" remarks:—

"The table moves. It may be moved by spirits; it may be moved by electricity; it may be moved by the unconscious muscular action of persons forming the chain round it. Here are three explanations, not to suggest more, which the investigator may severally examine.

"1. *Spirits*. Table-moving issued out of spirit-rapping. Indeed we may claim the first article published in this journal as the origin; for it was owing to the translation of that article in Germany, and the sensation there excited by it, that Dr. Andree first commenced his experiments of table-moving; from Germany it spread rapidly to Paris and London. Those who believe in the spirit-rappings, will have no difficulty in assigning a cause to the table-movings; but for more cautious thinkers there will be these difficulties;—First, the *existence* of the spirits requires proof; secondly, their *presence* requires some more definite proof than lies in an assumption. Indeed, it should be stated here, to exonerate the sensible people who occupy themselves with the new phenomenon, that table moving has no necessary connexion with spirit-rapping, and is investigated by hundreds who are fully aware of the ignoble imposture practised under the title of spiritual manifestations. As we are of the latter, we may dismiss this first explanation without further discussion.

"*Electricity*. This is more plausible, and entraps all but those accustomed to scientific analysis. But we are bound to call attention to the following points:—First, there is absolutely no proof whatever of the *existence* of the current of electricity passing from human beings to the table; it is a pure assumption, made to overarch the chasm of ignorance. Secondly, although what is called nerve-force has many striking analogies with electricity, yet every well-informed physiologist knows that the *identity* of the two forces, far from being proven, is, in the present state of science, to be rejected. Thus you have to prove the existence of the very *agent* you assume, and then having proved it, you have to prove that its *mode of operation* is that which you assume! For, granting that nerve-force *is* electricity, we have still to learn that this electricity passes in a stream from our fingers to the table; we have still to learn that electricity, when it passes into a table or a hat, makes that table or that hat gyrate. These are difficulties which will prevent the scientific mind from accepting electrical agency. At present the question stands thus:—The table moves; by no *known* laws of electricity or physiology can this movement be explained as electrical; and to

suppose that the movement itself is the proof, is to indulge in the most vicious circular reasoning, by which an assumption is made to demonstrate the validity of the assumption."

Any body who has ever seen the commonest experiments with an electrical machine, is aware that you cannot "charge" any substance with electricity unless you first "insulate" it. One standing upon the floor, may grasp the nobs of the machine from whence the stream of electricity is flowing, and feel no sensation when touched by another person not in contact with the machine. But let him insulate himself by standing upon a glass stool, and he will feel his hair at once begin to rise, and when touched will experience quite a sharp, pricking sensation at the point of contact, just at, or rather a little before the moment of contact, accompanied with a distinct spark. So when one receives a shock from an electrical jar, it is simply in consequence of his establishing a connection between the *insulated surface* of tin-foil, within the jar which has been charged (like the man on the glass stool,) with positive electricity, and the surface of foil which coats the outside of the jar, which has (by *induction* as it is called,) been charged with negative electricity. The touching the nob of the jar, which communicates with the interior, with one hand, while we touch the outside of the jar with the other, established the connection, and the sudden restoration of the equilibrium produces "the shock." Now it is very amusing to see the gravity with which people will sit around a table, *not insulated*, but resting upon the floor like themselves, and proceed "to charge it with *electricity*." Still more amusing is it to hear Susan say to Jane—"O, Jane, don't let your sleeve touch the table, it carries off the *electricity*!" The sleeve (of silk) being one of the worst conductors, or, more properly, one of the best *non-conductors* of electricity with which we are acquainted—while the dear little palms and taper fingers, are admirable conductors, and communicate, through the body, directly with the floor! These are pressed closely, firmly—aye! even until *the finger nails are white*: sometimes, although the innocent creatures, we know, are perfectly unconscious

of it, upon the hard mahogany. Ah! We always feel our skepticism shaken when we see that show of fair hands brought out in strong relief by the dark and polished back ground. Do you not feel an "electric thrill" at the most casual touch of those rosy-tipped digits? Reader did you never have the happiness of sitting at a small table (they always say "the smaller the better,") between two of these fairy electrical machines, with a sweet, tiny little finger imprisoned under each of yours "so as to complete the circle?" Did you not feel conscious of a decided electric current? If not, we have only to say that your humble servant and yourself are differently constituted—or, as the "Rappers" express it, of "different spheres." We believe it has generally been found that the "table-tipping" succeeds best when ladies are the operators. May not the "hard wood" of the table be "stirred," even to dancing, like a whirling dervish, under the wooing pressure of the soft, warm, caressing palms, just as the "Talking Oak" was thrilled to the core by Olivia's kisses?

" Her kisses were so close and kind,
That, trust me on my word,
Hard wood I am and wrinkled rind,
But yet my sap was stir'd :

And even into my inmost ring
A pleasure I discern'd,
Like those blind motions of the Spring,
That show the year is turned."

At any rate is not such an explanation quite as satisfactory, and much more poetical and graceful than "electricity," which, after all, turns out to be something entirely different from any electricity which Ben Franklin experimented upon? But there is an electrical attraction about this phase of the subject—a fascination in the pursuit of this modern *palmistry*—which has seduced us into a digression, which, we fear, some of our readers will consider somewhat flippant and indecorous. Let us return to "Vivian," and follow him through his third, and, as he believes, true and entire explanation of the phenomenon of table locomotion.

"3. *Unconscious muscular action.* Instead of unproven 'spirits' and questionable 'electricity,' it would seem more natural to try the simpler explanation of unconscious muscular action, did we not know that in such cases the simple explanation is always the last to be thought of. Appetite for the marvellous will not be appeased by common places! Let us, however, inquire a little more closely into this said muscular action, and see if we cannot, by the aid of known laws, explain all the phenomena.

"In standing or sitting round a table for many minutes, with the hands lightly resting on it, and the *mind eagerly expectant*, the fatigue of the muscles causes you to rest with your weight on one leg, if standing; on one side, if sitting; and this gives a *stress* to the table (unless you are very vigilant,) which may cause it slightly to move; no sooner does the movement begin, than all the expectant circle, now gratified at the result, unconsciously aid in the movement, (in a way hereafter to be explained,) and thus, although no one is conscious of effort, but fancies the table moves without his co-operation, yet, in fact, all, or most of the persons forming the chain, do really co-operate in moving it.

"We must beg that no captious verbal criticism be applied to this explanation of the process; we are aiming at an intelligible explanation, and hope, in succeeding remarks, to clear up every point involved. The reader must bear in mind, that *expectation* of the result is necessary, otherwise the table will not move. Those who adopt the magnetic hypothesis, explain the necessity of this condition, (as the mesmerists explain failures,) by saying that 'scepticism destroys the influence.' Truly it does so; because the muscular action which produces the movement in obedience to what is called an 'expectant attention,' will *not* be brought into play unless expectation be there.*

* We have been kindly furnished by a friend with a copy of the London "Medical Times and Gazette," of June 11th, containing "a Report on Table-Moving," from which we extract the following remarks:—"It is well known that the movements of the human body may be divided into *voluntary* and *involuntary*. The actions of walking, of playing musical instruments, etc., are instances of the first; those of circulation and digestion are examples of the second. But there is also a class of actions comprising the ordinary phenomena of motion, which are certainly not under the control of the *will*, but which, nevertheless, are directed by the emotions or the *ideas*. Thus the somnambulist walks in obedience to some mental impulse, while the will is dormant; and the person who dreams, often executes movements in which the will has no part, but which are excited by *ideas* or emotions. Again, although the will has no control over the action of the heart and arteries, yet the *ideas* and *emotions* exercise a distinct influence upon those organs; and when attention is directed to their pulsations in nervous persons, the

"Scepticism, however, is a word of loose signification. There are two classes of sceptics. There is the class of men who are, it is true, perfectly *incredulous* with respect to the *fact*, but as perfectly *credulous* with respect to the *inference*; they approach the table with laughter, or with an emphatic declaration of 'It's all humbug;' yet no sooner does the table move, and they believe in the honesty of those moving it, than their incredulity is suddenly changed to a credulity as rash! They doubted the fact; no sooner is the fact proved, than they no longer doubt the inference! But the scientific sceptic, knowing *where* lies the source of most fallacies, is willing enough to believe the fact; he is only sceptical of the immature hypothesis suggested to explain the fact. It is thus that spirit-rappings convert the incredulous. When something is told them which 'it is impossible that the medium or any one present could have known,' they—forced to accept the *fact*—believe they are forced to adopt the *inference* which the impostor wishes them to accept; but a cautious thinker would accept the fact, and examine closely the inference. He would say, 'it is true I have been told such and such things; but does it, therefore, follow that they were told me by departed spirits? May there not be some juggler in it?'

"We dwell on this distinction between scepticism of facts and scepticism of inferences, because it is important, and because men commonly fancy they are bringing strong evidence in support of their opinions, when they preface it by saying, 'I assure you I approached this subject as complete a sceptic as you can be; I thought it a monstrous humbug; I laughed at the idea; but I was forced to own the truth at last.' If you interrogate these sceptics, you will find that they all imagine the fact proves the hypothesis—as if no *other* hypothesis would explain the fact!"

Those who will not admit that there is a profound and wonderful mystery about "table-tipping," are constantly asked, "well how do you account for it? The table moves. We all say we are not pushing it—although when we feel it move *we follow the motion*—what else *can* it be but "electricity?" And then the enthusiastic believers confidently affirm that it is impossible to move the table merely by the

movements have been accelerated, or retarded, or have become intermittent. In the case of table-turning, the ideas are concentrated upon the expected movement, and the muscular apparatus of the fingers obeys, unconsciously to the experimenter, the dominant impression in the mind." The writer says, "the term *ideo-motor* may very properly express the action in question."

strength of ones fingers. In vain you may whirl the table about by a *voluntary* effort of the muscles—they don't see any thing in those motions like the electric gyrations. O no! They are entirely different! But we will not again interrupt "Vivian."

"The explanation of 'table-moving' we have from the first suggested, has been this week strengthened by a reprint in the *Journal Des Debats*, of an article written twenty years ago by M. Chevreul, the celebrated chemist, an analysis of which had already been given by Longet, in his "*Traité de Physiologie*." We will reproduce its leading points.

"In 1833, Paris was amused by the oscillations of a pendulum, as recently London was by the oscillations of gold rings under the pretended magnetoscope of Mr. Rutter. 'Electricity,' of course, was the explanation of the following fact:—If an iron ring were suspended by a thread over mercury, and held there by the right hand, it began to oscillate; on introducing some other substance between the mercury and the suspended ring, *the oscillations ceased, to recommence with the withdrawal of the foreign substance*. But Chevreul showed that this was the result of insensible muscular action, by various experiments, of which it is enough to say, that on supporting his arm by a wooden rest, the oscillations decreased in proportion as the wooden rest approached the wrist, and disappeared when placed under the fingers which held the thread. The curious part of his experiment, however, was this. He fancied that *while his eyes followed the oscillations of the pendulum*, he detected in himself a disposition or *tendency to movement*, which, perfectly involuntary, was always the more satisfied the larger the oscillations were; but, on *bandaging his eyes*, *the oscillations rapidly ceased, and then the interposition of foreign substances between the mercury and the pendulum exercised no sort of influence on the oscillation!* His interpretation of the phenomena is simple and satisfactory. In holding the pendulum, an insensible muscular movement of the arm set the pendulum slightly oscillating, and when once the oscillation commenced they were augmented by the influence exercised by vision, which caused him to assume that 'tendency to movement' before mentioned; this tendency, however, is so delicate, and so unconscious, that the mere thought of arresting it does arrest it. The two necessary conditions for a successful result he found to be—1st. A belief that the pendulum will move of itself without muscular aid. 2d. To *see the oscillations*, which become greater by the influence of vision in directing the muscles.

"We should be glad, if space permitted, to cite examples of this un-

conscious *tendance au mouvement* referred to by M. Chevreul: but every one will remember how, in fixing attention on a moving object, we involuntarily lean in the direction of the movement; and many have, doubtless, amused themselves with the experiment of suspending a book by means of a key, and willing the book to turn in a particular direction—an experiment we have proved over and over again to depend on the muscular action induced by 'expectant attention.*' The reader is referred to Dr. Carpenter's 'Human Physiology,' fourth edition, 923 sq., for interesting matter we have no room here to reproduce.

"With the light thus afforded, let us examine the phenomena of hat-moving and table-moving; and in relating our own experiences we shall attempt to give the rationale. In perfect conformity with what has been said of 'expectant attention,' or 'flash,' for a successful result, we have to declare that, although the table has moved in our presence, it has never moved when we formed a link of the chain, although we were really waiting with strong desire to analyze the sensations which accompany the phenomenon. The objection that we are 'auto-magnetic,' and that our scepticism produces a 'cross-current,' is too frivolous for refutation. The main reason of the failure has been the knowledge of our scepticism on the part of the others, and their want of real conviction that it will succeed with us; another reason is this—we have placed them on their guard against the sources of fallacy, and told them how they moved the table unconsciously.

"A negative result cannot, we are aware, determine the question.—But we have positive results to offer. One evening, ten believers—an indifferent person and the "terrible sceptic" who writes this—stood round a table with hands lightly resting on a hat. After about twelve minutes the sceptic's hands were trembling slightly from tension of the muscles, and his legs becoming fatigued, he rested the main weight of his body on the right leg. Presently the hat began to move. We all asked each other, 'Are you moving it?' and received a simultaneous negative; nevertheless, the hat continued moving, with occasional par-

*"Let four or five persons place their forefinger on a watch surface, and retain their position for a few minutes, unchanged by thought, but with an expectation of some possible result, and there will soon be perceived a creeping in the skin, a tingling around the nail, and a degree of tension which, without motion altogether, constitutes a reflex, or an expectant type of a conscious language, involuntary action. In table-moving there need not be any voluntary movement, for muscular tension produced by attention, conviction, suspense, or fixed attention, will produce sufficient action to accomplish the expected result.—

Report in Medical Times already quoted.

ses. The idea occurred to the sceptic that, as the hat was moving in the direction in which he leaned, perhaps the slight *stress* so produced might cause the moving: to test this, he changed from right to left leg. The hat stopped; presently it resumed its motion, but this time *from left to right*—*i. e.* the reverse way! He was still perfectly unconscious of any *effort* to move the hat, although he felt convinced it was occasioned by the slight stress of his body: he suddenly stood erect on both legs, and the motion ceased. It never moved again during that evening.

“At the house of a gentleman who has made frequent experiments, and who for a fortnight was a firm believer in the electrical theory, but whose confidence became shaken by the suggestion of certain doubts, the ‘sceptic’ stood with five other persons round a table which moved with extreme facility on a pivot. This time we waited five-and-forty minutes without the slightest result; yet the five persons had been eminently successful on all previous occasions in less than fifteen minutes. Whence failure? Because we were all on our guard. We determined to remain entirely *passive*; to stand erect on both legs; to watch our sensations; to be vigilant in neither aiding nor preventing the movement. Yet these very persons, on the day before, had made the table move with considerable velocity in the direction any one *willed* it: the will of the one person, and the expectant attention of the others, producing a result impossible in the sceptical passive state of mind.*

“We now ask, whether the phenomenon of table-moving is not more probable when classed with known phenomena of *unconscious* muscular action following expectant attention, than when classed with ‘mysteries’ and ‘magic?’ Of electrical action, in this sense, we have no proof, no evidence, no analogies; of muscular action we have abundant analogies.

“That all believers will renounce their belief, and accept this explanation, we do not expect. After the stolid mass of credulity which resisted our exposure of the trick on which spirit-rapping depends—after the perverse ingenuity of the arguments brought forward in reply to that exposure—we can have little hope that the foregoing explanation will find much favour. But if our exposition has been intelligible, it will make every watchful investigator capable of testing its truth.”

Scientific men, especially the medical profession, are often

* “It (the table) is moved more easily by females than by males, because, in the former, the muscles are more mobile, *the will less strong*, the emotions more acute, the ideas more vivid. It is said, that young persons succeed better than persons advanced in years—a fact which may be readily explained upon the same principles.”—*Rep. in Medical Times.*

accused of wilfully and blindly refusing to give credence to or even investigate new and startling phenomena. They are sometimes supposed by the vulgar to be opposed to new theories, inventions, remedies, &c. simply on the selfish principle of not wishing their monopoly interfered with—of not desiring their gains to be curtailed by outside competitors. Hence the believers in magnetism lifted up their voices and cried aloud with bitter indignation at the narrow prejudices and stubborn incredulity of the M. D's. They regarded their opposition as the result of either a mercenary spirit or a self-sufficient and dogmatical one. But with reference to table tipping, surely the savans and doctors can have no interest in the *suppressio veri*. Is it not more reasonable, therefore, if people are unwilling or incompetent to investigate the matter thoroughly for themselves, to accept the explanation of those who are specially qualified to decide upon it, rather than of those whose explanation is really no explanation at all—of those who exhibit the most profound ignorance of the very agent which they so complacently assume to be the motive influence?

Since writing the above we have read Professor Faraday's letter to the editor of the Times,* which is so admirable that we cannot refrain from laying it before our readers.—His ingenious contrivance and careful and minute investigation still further establish his reputation as the Prince of Manipulators and Experimenters. We would call special attention to the last sentence of the Professor's communication, which we have taken the liberty of italicizing.

“Sir—I have recently been engaged in the investigation of table turning. I should be sorry that you should suppose I thought this necessary on my own account, for my conclusion respecting its nature was soon arrived at, and is not changed; but I have been so often misquoted, and applications to me for an opinion are so numerous, that I hoped,

* We regret that our limits will not allow us to give Prof. Faraday's more detailed and elaborate account of the method pursued and the results obtained in the investigation of this subject. Our readers will find a republication of it in the National Intelligencer of July 16th. Other of our papers, no doubt, have published or will publish this very ingenious, interesting and satisfactory account.

if I enabled myself by experiment to give a strong one, you would consent to convey it to all persons interested in the matter. The effect produced by table turners has been referred to electricity, to magnetism, to attraction, to some unknown or hitherto unrecognized physical power able to effect inanimate bodies—to the revolution of the earth, and even to diabolical or supernatural agency. The natural philosopher can investigate all these supposed causes but the last; that must, to him, be too much connected with credulity or superstition to require any attention on his part. The investigation would be too long in description to obtain a place in your columns. I therefore purpose asking admission for that into the Athenæum of next Saturday, and propose here to give the general result. Believing that the first cause assigned, namely, a quasi involuntary muscular action (for the effect is with many subject to the wish and will) was the true cause, the first point was to prevent the mind of the turner having an undue influence over the effects produced in relation to the nature of the substances employed. A bundle of plates, consisting of sand-paper, mill-board, glue, glass, plastic clay, tin-foil, care-board, gutta serena, vulcanized caoutchouc, wood, and resinous cement, was therefore made up and tied together, and being placed on a table, under the hand of a turner, did not prevent the transmission of the power; the table turned or moved exactly as if the bundle had been away, to the full satisfaction of all present. The experiment was repeated, with various substances and persons, and at various times, with constant success, and henceforth no objection could be taken to the use of these substances in the construction of the apparatus. The next point was to determine the place and source of motion—i. e. whether the table moved the hand, or the hand moved the table; and for this purpose indicators were constructed. One of these consisted of a light lever, having its fulcrum on the table, its short arm attached to a pin fixed on a card-board, which could slip on the surface of the table, and its long arm projecting as an index of motion. It is evident that if the experimenter willed the table to move towards the left, and it did so move before the hands, placed at the time on the card-board, then the index would move to the left also, the fulcrum going with the table. If the hands involuntarily moved to the left without the table, the index would go towards the right; and, if neither table nor hands moved, the index would itself remain immoveable. The result was, that when the parties saw the index it remained very steady; when it was hidden from them, or they looked away from it, it wavered about, though they believed that they always pressed directly downwards; and when the table did not move, there was still a resultant of hand force in the di-

rection in which it was wished the table should move, which, however, was exercised quite unwittingly by the party operating. This resultant it is which, in the course of the waiting time, while fingers and hands become stiff, numb, and insensible by continual pressure, grows up to an amount sufficient to move the table or the substance pressed upon.

“But the most valuable effect of this test apparatus, (which was afterwards made more perfect and independent of the table,) is the corrective power it possesses over the mind of the table-turner. As soon as the index is placed before the most earnest, and they perceive—as in my presence they have always done—that it tells truly whether they are pressing downwards only or obliquely, then all effects of table turning cease, even though the parties persevere, earnestly desiring motion, till they become weary and worn out. No prompting or checking of the hands is needed—the power is gone; and this only because the parties are made conscious of what they are really doing mechanically, and so are unable, unwittingly to deceive themselves. I know that some may say that it is the card-board next the fingers which moves first, and that it both drags the table and also the table-turner with it. All I have to reply is that the card-board may in practice be reduced to a thin sheet of paper weighing only a few grains or to a piece of gold-beater’s skin, or even the end of the lever, and (in principle) to the very cuticle of the fingers itself. Then the results that follow are too absurd to be admitted; the table becomes an incumbrance, and a person holding out the fingers in the air, either naked or tipped with gold-beater’s skin or card-board, ought to be drawn about the room, &c. but I refrain from considering imaginary, yet consequent results which have nothing philosophical or real in them. I have been happy thus far in meeting with the most honorable and candid though most sanguine persons, and I believe the mental check which I propose will be available in the hands of all who desire truly to investigate the philosophy of the subject, and, being content to resign expectation, wish only to be led by the facts and the truth of nature. As I am unable, even at present, to answer all the letters that come to me regarding this matter, perhaps you will allow me to prevent any increase by saying that my apparatus may be seen at the shop of the philosophical instrument maker—Newman, 122 Regent-street.

“Permit me to say, before concluding, that I have been greatly started by the revelation which this purely physical subject has made of the condition of the public mind. No doubt there are many persons who have formed a right judgment or used a cautious reserve, for I know several such, and public communications have shown it to be so; but

their number is almost as nothing to the great body who have believed and borne testimony, as I think, in the cause of error. I do not here refer to the distinction of those who agree with me and those who differ. By the great body, I mean such as reject all consideration of the equality of cause and effect, who reference the results to electricity and magnetism; yet know nothing of the law of these forces; or to attraction—yet show no phenomena of pure attractive power; or to the rotation of the earth, as if the earth revolved round the leg of a table; or to some unrecognized physical force, without inquiring whether the known forces are not sufficient; or who even refer them to diabolical or supernatural agency, rather than suspend their judgment, or acknowledge to themselves that they are not learned enough in these matters to decide on the nature of the action. *I think the system of education that could leave the mental condition of the public body in the state in which this subject has found it must have been greatly deficient in some very important principle.*

I am, sir, your very obedient servant,

M. FARADAY.

Royal Institution, June 28.

It was rumored some time ago that Prof. Henry of the Smithsonian Institute, was engaged in an investigation of this matter, with a view to the publication of an elaborate report. We are informed by a lady that she recently questioned the Professor, in Washington, as to the conclusion at which he had arrived. He laughingly replied that it was an empty humbug—that there was nothing in it—or words to that effect. Now here we have the concurrent testimony of four distinguished philosophers of the highest representation and character—Humboldt in Germany—Arago in France—Faraday in England, and Henry in America—all declaring that there is no electricity or mystery in the matter, (except that inscrutable mystery, the wonderful power which the Imagination has over Human Credulity,) and that it is entirely explicable by the recognized laws of physical and human nature. Having referred to the opinion of Arago, it may not be uninteresting to insert the following account which has appeared in several of the papers of the day.

“Table Movements.”—The subject has been presented to the French

Academy by M. Seguin. It has, however, found no favor with the veteran philosopher, M. Arago, the perpetual Secretary of the Academy, as will be seen from the following statements made by him at the sitting of that body on the 2d of May last:

“After communicating, as was his duty, the note of M. Seguin, M. Arago referred to some old experiments of M. Ellicott, a clockmaker, which are printed in the Philosophical Transactions, which are explanatory of these table movements. The phenomenon, which is most extraordinary and difficult of explanation, consist of the fact that the infinitely small impulses, so to speak, communicated by the fingers to, the wood composing the table, eventually result in producing very considerable motion. Thus, says M. Arago, in the experiments of M. Ellicott, two clocks, with pendulums attached, in separate cases, were suspended from a long wooden strip or bar affixed to the wall, and at the distance of two English feet from each other. The first of these clocks was set going alone, the second remaining quiet. After a certain time had elapsed, the second clock was found to be in motion by means of the imperceptible vibrations transmitted from the first clock through the medium of the solid particles of the bodies on which the two machines rested. Besides this, a very singular circumstance was noted, that after a certain time the second pendulum, which was originally left at rest, was swinging over the widest arc its construction would admit—the first, which was originally set in motion, had come to a state of rest.

“The Secretary remarked that he did not propose to enlarge upon the consequences which may be and really are, drawn from the facts here referred to, his object being only to show that we are already, and have long since been, in possession of a knowledge of the communication of analogous movements to those presented recently by the table-tippings, and an explanation of which does not need a recourse to any mysterious influences.”

No doubt, after reading the above, some marvel-loving “tippers” will say, “well, but how do you know but what this curious phenomenon of the clocks may be the result of ‘electricity?’ The electrical machine has brass about it—the works of the clocks are mostly brass, *ergo*, &c., &c.” *Quod est demonstrandum.* “There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth.”

But we have already far transgressed the limits which we originally assigned ourselves. We thought the explanation

by "Vivian," which we have given in extenso, worthy of preservation in a more permanent form than the columns of a daily newspaper. We believe many will thank us for having done so. To many the explanation will seem as complete and satisfactory as it does to us. Many, too, who have been puzzled, startled, almost frightened,* by the oracles from the mahogany tripod, by the drunken staggerings and wheelings of the old tea table which had stood quietly and soberly for so many years in the parlour corner—who have sometimes been tempted to exclaim with Ferdinand in "The Tempest," "May I be bold to think these spirits?"—will, perhaps, be calmed and soothed by finding that a large part at least of the mystery has been cleared up by a temperate, sensible and ingenious observer. They may thus take confidence and believe that all the foundations of our knowledge—all the hard earned treasures of philosophy and science—are not to be suddenly and completely overturned. They may rest content that if we will only be patient, careful and laborious in our search after truth—if we will not allow ourselves to be driven about by every new wind and wave of doctrine, but steer our course by the compass of reason which God has given us for the very purpose of preventing our being drifted about by every fantastic current of imagination—above all if we will confide in the wisdom and benignity of that Great Being with whom the wisdom of

* We would respectfully invite the attention of this class of persons—who we fear are more numerous and more respectable than is generally supposed—to the following remarks in the report of the "Medical Times and Gazette," which we have already several times quoted.

"It is *weakness* and not *strength* of will which readiness to assume these involuntary actions testifies. The more powerful the higher faculties of the mind, the less quickly do the muscles act on the impulsion of the ideas only. In men, where the intellect is naturally stronger, and in adults, where it is strengthened by use, the manifestations of ideomotor acts are pressed. And we would call attention to this fact—for a practical purpose, viz: with the object of cautioning the public, through our readers, against trying these sort of experiments too often. It is very certain, that each trial renders the 'table-mover' more ready at exhibiting the required phenomena, more under the dominion of ideas, and less under the dominion of natural will. Each trial, then, must weaken the intellectual powers, must make the experimenter less a man, and more an instinct-governed animal. The peculiar state of mind induced, is not, perhaps, either hysteria or insanity; but it is akin to both."

man is but foolishness—we will finally reach the light not only upon this subject, but upon far higher and more important ones—and the human race will achieve still nobler triumphs than it has yet done in the realms of matter and mind. There is a third and larger class of people however who are as incapable of being convinced by logical argument as they are incapable of accurate and philosophical observation.—These will still fondly cling to their “spirits” or their “electricity.” They are as insensible to “a train of reasoning” as the sluggish cattle upon the railroad path to a train of cars. “Ephraim is joined to his idols, let him alone.” People of this class—and their name is legion—make us almost despair of the final triumph of truth. With such persons in view we are sometimes tempted to fold our arms and exclaim with a famous wit and cynic of the last century, “It is idle to endeavour to cure the world of any folly, unless we could cure it of being foolish.”

ART. VIII.—LOCKE AMONG THE MOONLINGS.

The celebrated “Moon Story ;” its origin and incidents ; with a memoir of the author, and an appendix containing, 1. An Authentic Description of the Moon ; 2. A new Theory of the Lunar Surface in relation to that of the Earth. By WM. N. GREGGS. New York : Bunnell & Price. 1852.

We have placed at the head of our article the reprint of a celebrated publication, which first appeared in the New York Sun, in September, 1835. It professed to be an account of the “great astronomical discoveries lately made by Sir John Herschel, at the Cape of Good Hope,” and to be republished from the supplement to the Edinburg Journal of Science. The excitement produced by the story was immense

We happened at the time to be in New Haven. Yale College was alive with staunch supporters. The literati—students and professors, doctors in divinity and law—and all the rest of the reading community, looked daily for the arrival of the New York mail with unexampled avidity and implicit faith. Have you seen the accounts of Sir John Herschel's wonderful discoveries? Have you read the Sun? Have you heard the news of the man in the Moon? These were the questions that met you every where. It was the absorbing topic of the day. Nobody expressed or entertained a doubt as to the truth of the story.

The labours of previous writers had smoothed the way for Mr. Locke. There had been an abundant supply of fanciful conjectures respecting the Moon from Dr. Dick and similar authors. One believed it to be covered with vegetation.—Another thought it contained intelligent creatures, and Dr. Dick professed to think that modes of communication might be established with them by enormous geometrical figures, to be constructed of stone by the inhabitants of the two planets. The soil had been thoroughly ploughed, harrowed and manured in the mental fields of our wiser people, and the seed of farmer Locke bore fruit a hundred fold.

It is said that Mr. Locke intended his narrative to be a grave ridicule of the school of writers to which we have alluded, and that he was disappointed and excessively annoyed to find that the most gullible public had absolutely swallowed his satire without being sensible of any one of its sharp points, and had actually supposed it to be a smooth and savoury story of the wonderful man or men in the moon. We can hardly credit the disappointment ascribed to the author. If he intended his account to be taken as a satire on the wisby washy, half sentiment, half reasoning, with a tinge of the fanciful, philosophy of Dr. Dick, he did not make the ridicule sufficiently obvious. To one standing where the author did, and knowing what he knew, the intention may have been manifest enough. But it was not so to any class of his readers. The literary and scientific seemed to regard the great astronomical discoveries as a thing in which they had some sort of right of property, and saw nothing bu

what was admirable about them, and the love of the marvellous made all other parties devour the story with unexamining eagerness.

Even the persons who were not deceived for a moment, failed to see the intended satire on the platitudes of the Dick school. The celebrated Arago denounced the account at once before the Academy, as an unjustifiable and unpardonable attack on his illustrious friend Sir John Herschel, and although the members decided that the elaborate burlesque was not to be considered a malicious attack on the distinguished astronomer, yet they appeared perfectly in the dark as to the real object of the satire. Mr. Locke should have done something to put the clue in the hand of his reader.—He should have given the key note to the performance he was about to execute. He should have connected the parties ridiculed, in some way or other, with the ridicule. As it is, if he really meant his narrative as a satire, and was innocent of all design to have it mistaken for something else, he had reason to be mortified at the result, as he was very much in the condition of the painter who, having elaborately drawn an ass, should have the mortification to see every spectator mistake it for a horse.

Whatever Mr. Locke may have intended in the way of ridicule, he certainly had no reason for the astonishment he is said to have exhibited, at having his satire received by the multitude as a veracious history. Did he never hear of the old woman at Deptford who declared that she was well acquainted with Capt. Lemuel Gulliver, knew the vessel he sailed in, his wife and children, and had seen the presents which he brought home for them in his various voyages from strange countries? Are not the Knight of La Mancha, and Sancho Panza, and his ass, and his proverbs, and all his sayings and doings, real existences to all the world, as much so as Julius Cæsar and his laconic despatch? If Defoe had any squinting to a political satire, in his story of Crusoe, would any reader think of it for a moment? Would it disturb the school boy's faith in the foot prints on the sand, the goats, the parrots, and man Friday? Who ever thinks of the spiritualities, except at second hand, of the illustrious

Tinker, and who does not ignore the allegory of Spenser, that he might give the readier credence to the tale of chivalry and love? If in the face of all this Mr. Locke was really in earnest in wondering at the credulity of the public in mistaking his hoax for a veracious history, he exhibited a simplicity hardly less amusing than the implicit faith of his readers. In every case it requires that the reader should be forewarned and instructed, not to be misled, in a way to which we are all so prone.

However this may be, every body believed the story to be a genuine narrative, and no one got a glimpse of the satire. The whole world mistook Mr. Locke's ass for a horse, and compelled him at last to write over his drawing, "this is an ass, and you are no better than donkies for not perceiving the long ears which I intended to represent." The delusion was universal. It extended through the United States, pervaded Europe, and is said to linger still in remote corners of the reading world. It is hardly possible to name a popular folly which has been so general and has endured so long.—The south sea bubble burst in a short period; mormonism is confined to the stupid adherents of the golden book; the believers in rappings and spiritual communications, by all sorts of curious devices, with the illustrious dead, include Judge Talmadge and a few other distinguished gentlemen living farther south, only, with no very long tail of ignorant followers; even the hallucination which beset a few southern States, a year or two since, prodigious as it was, and having, like the Locke story, a very close connection with the condition of the Moon, was not near so extensive, and has not been of long continuance. It is now dead, buried, and forgotten. The shouts, the threats, the bellicose hum and clash of arms have been allayed, and dissipated into thin air, like the warlike preparations of Virgil's bees, *pulveris exigui jac-tu*—by a batch of foreign missions, a handfull of gold dust judiciously distributed. The angry swarm has been sent to the hive in deep and enduring repose. From the pomp of preparation, the *æris rauci canor*—sonorous metal blowing martial sounds—to the complete efficacy of the simple remedy, we are reminded in all respects of the Poets description.

Morantes

Martius ille æris rauci canor increpat, et vox
Auditur fractus sonitus imitata tubarum;
Ingentes animos angusto in pectori versant.
Hi motus animorum atque hæc certamina tanta,
Pulveris exigui jactu, compressa quiescent.

We are glad to see that the disturbed and excited spirits have been made quiescent. An unbroken calm, a placid sea, and serene skies have succeeded the political tempest. Not a voice is heard, not a speech, not a toast, regular or volunteer, takes the terrible tone that prevailed two years ago.—The political soothsayers are all silent.

The oracles are dumb,
No voice or hideous hum;
Runs through their arched roofs in words deceiving;

The change which has placed the democracy in power, has removed all the complaints of its subordinate but somewhat disorderly members. The new administration appears to understand perfectly the true nature of the disease which has affected different divisions and classes, north and south, of the great unwashed, and has administered the proper remedy with equal success to all the sick and afflicted. The panacea that cured General Dix is equally efficacious with General Davis. It has restored Mr. Soule to a sound and vigorous condition. Even the editor of the Washington Telegraph, the most incurable, to all appearance, of political dispeptics, has been made whole and healthy by the President's patent medicine. The very sight and shaking of the bottle has acted like a sedative on the disordered and excited constitution of the Kinderhook inmates, and Mr. John Van Buren no longer vociferates, at the top of his voice, the free soil variations of the grand democratic melodies. The Washington parmaceti has proven to be the sovereignest thing on earth for political bruises and inward ailments, and as it will be always ready for similar complaints in future, the quiet and peaceable may throw to the winds their apprehensions for the safety of the country in all time to come.—Only let the democratic party enjoy the loaves and fishes of

the republic, and not a convulsion or spasm will attack its smallest member.*

The belief in the Moon story was not a merely passive conviction. Far from it. The ladies of Springfield, it is said by high authority, held meetings to devise means for sending missionaries to the benighted man bats, and expressed a profound and lively interest in their religious instruction and improvement. It is equally certain that the philanthropists of England had frequent and crowded meetings at Exeter Hall, and appointed committees to inquire, as early as possible, in the condition of the people of the moon, for the purpose of relieving their wants, improving their condition, reforming abuses, amending their laws, and, above all, abolishing slavery if it should be found to exist among the lunar inhabitants. The account of the *vespertilio homo* having represented his condition to be one of great ease and comfort, made it very probable that the masses might be slaves. Dr. Herschel had not perceived a single case of starvation or destitution. He had remarked no instance of a *vespertilio homo* being expelled or evicted from his habitation. He saw nothing like a class of paupers, but that all alike were feeding abundantly on the fruits of the earth.—He observed no riots, strikes or emeutes of any kind, no penal colonies, nor any other of the peculiar advantages which always distinguish what is called a free country. All this induced the good people of Exeter Hall to conclude that there must be slavery existing in the Moon, and their zeal to inquire into and redress the grievance was even greater than it is in reference to the same institution in the United States,

* They laugh who win. We cannot quarrel with the gravity of those who have no such pleasant provocation to laughter. Our readers will more than suspect that our excellent contributor, whose fine essays we always gladly welcome to our pages, is one of the few survivors of the now nearly extinct species—once so troublesome—the whigs. He wreaks his revenge upon us by sharp sarcasms. Of these we shall hardly complain. They are, perhaps, not altogether amiss. We do not pretend that democracy is a perfect thing. We do not even insist that it is entirely a good thing : and we are not unwilling that the whigs, no longer living as a party, should still survive as *accusers*—ready to point out the short comings of patriotism, and keep it to its bearings,—as circumspect and honest as possible.

[EDITOR S. Q. REVIEW.]

for the plain reason that the evil was more remote, and the desire to remove it therefore the more meritorious.

One of the most amusing incidents connected with the Moon story is, the effect it produced on the celebrated Astronomer himself. An American arriving recently from New York at the Cape of Good Hope, placed the pamphlet edition of his wonderful discoveries in the hands of Sir John Herschel. It seems that Mr. Weeks, the traveller alluded to, took lodgings at the house to which Sir John was accustomed to resort for occasional relaxation; and asking the landlord where the astronomer could be found, was told that he was then in the house. Mr. Weeks requested an interview, and asked permission to present him with the American account of his great astronomical discoveries. Sir John replied, with an air of surprise, that he would be gratified by any intelligence from the United States, but that he could not readily conceive of any thing relating to himself or his discoveries, inasmuch as he had made no report himself upon the subject. Mr. Weeks confidently remarked that it must, nevertheless, have "got wind" in some way or other, for here was the "full and particular account in print and no mistake," and presenting the pamphlet and files of the New York papers he withdrew from the room to the public parlour. In a few minutes Sir John made his appearance in the parlour, and said to Mr. Weeks, in a tone of excited interest, "this is a most extraordinary affair!—pray what does it mean? Is this really a reprint of an Edinburg publication, or is it an elaborate hoax by some person in New York?" Mr. Weeks replied that he could not say, but that every word of the story was taken for gospel in New York and throughout the United States, and that what every body says, must be true. Sir John laughed very heartily, requested him to state the popular effect which the narrative had produced, renewed his inquiries from day to day, and was incessantly and uncontrollably astonished and amused at the account that he received.

It required a very considerable amount of science, as well as a lively imagination, to write the celebrated moon-hoax. To give the story the necessary verisimilitude, it was in-

cumbent on the author to describe the astronomical means made use of. This he does very elaborately and minutely, aware that nothing, in such cases, produces so much effect as particularity and detail. He relates the conversation between Sir John Herschel and Sir David Brewster, which led to the improvements in the great telescope. The conversation became directed to the grand difficulty, the paucity of light in powerful magnifiers. Sir John diffidently suggested to the great optician that it was possible to effect "a transfusion of artificial light through the focal object of vision, and," continued he, "why cannot the illuminated microscope, say the hydro-oxygen, be applied to render distinct, and, if necessary, even to magnify the focal object." The suggestion was deemed admirable by Brewster, and led to the grand improvements in the new and wonderful telescope. The writer describes the casting of the great object glass, of twenty-four feet diameter, just six times larger than the elder Herschel's; the shipping of it, the safe arrival and arrangement of the stupendous lens in the observatory on the table-land near Cape Town. Having completed all the necessary arrangements, and thoroughly adjusted the telescope and the accompanying microscope, Sir John Herschel began his wonderful discoveries in the moon on the 10th day of January, assisted by Dr. Grant and other attendants.

On the evening of that day, the whole immense power of the new telescope, and about one half of the power of the combined microscope applied to the focal image, were directed to the lunar world. The first object that appeared on the field of view, was an exceedingly distinct and vivid representation of basaltic rock, resembling, in some respects, the basaltic formation of Staffa, covered with dark red flowers similar to the papaver rhœas of terrestrial corn-fields, and presenting to the delighted observer the first organic production of nature, in a foreign world, ever revealed to the eyes of men.

The observation of this specimen of vegetation at once settled the question respecting the existence of a lunar atmosphere. There being an atmosphere made it probable that there were animals, and the observer pursued his in-

vestigations with the greater enthusiasm from this conviction. The basaltic rocks were followed by a large extent of forest, consisting of unknown trees resembling the yew; next, by a level green plain, and then by a magnificent forest of genuine firs, which reminded the reporter of the discoveries, Dr. Grant, of those that he had so often seen in the bosom of his native mountains. These forests were succeeded by a large body of water, which seemed to answer, in its general outline, to the Mare Nubium of Riecoli. Why it should be so named, however, it was difficult to understand, for fairer shores never angel coasted, on a tour of pleasure. A beautiful and brilliant white sand beach, girt with castellated rocks, apparently of green marble, varied at chasms, which appeared every two or three hundred yards, with grotesque blocks of chalk or gypsum, and feathered and festooned at the summits with the clustering foliage of unknown trees, moved over the field of view until the observers were speechless with astonishment and admiration. The water was nearly as blue as the deep ocean, and broke in white billows on the strand. This beautiful object was rapidly succeeded by a long extent of rough volcanic country, exhibiting varieties of lichens and mosses, until the attention of the observers was arrested by a lofty chain of obelisk shaped or very slender pyramids, standing in irregular groups, each composed of about thirty or forty spires, every one of which was perfectly square, and as accurately truncated as the finest specimen of Cornish chrystal. They were of a faint lilac hue and very resplendent. I thought, says Dr. Grant, that we had fallen on works of art, but Dr. Herschel pronounced them to be quartz formations of the amethyst species, exhibiting such evidence of powerful chrystallization in the moon, as to promise a rich field of mineralogical study.

The next object that struck their attention, was the Mare Fecunditatis of astronomers, which turned out to be a region of unbroken sterility. From Dan to Beersheba, if there be such places in the moon, all was barrenness. The shores of the sea proved to be of chalk and flint, and there was no where to be seen a vestige of vegetation.

This uninteresting country past, they reached a region that filled them with astonishment, and revealed to their delighted eyes the first specimens of animal life in the lunar world. It was an oval valley nearly surrounded by hills, red as as the purest vermillion, and evidently chrystallized. Innumerable cascades were bursting from the breasts of every one of these cliffs, some so near the summit as to form arches of many yards in diameter. They reminded me, says Dr. Grant, very vividly of Byron's simile, "the tail of the white horse in Revelations." At the foot of the boundary of hills, was a perfect zone of woods surrounding the whole valley, which was about twenty miles wide and thirty in length, with collections of trees, of every imaginable kind, scattered over the whole luxuriant area. Here our magnifiers blest our eager hopes with the first specimens of animal existence. In the shade of the woods, on the south-eastern side, we beheld continuous herds of brown quadrupeds, having all the external characteristics of the bison, but more diminutive than any species of the *bos* genus in our natural history. The tail was like that of our *bos grunniens*; but in its semi-circular horns, the hump on its shoulders, the depth of its dewlaps, and the length of its shaggy hair, it closely resembles the species to which I first compared it. There was, however, one widely distinctive feature, which we afterwards found common to almost every lunar quadruped, and that is a remarkable fleshy appendage over the eyes, crossing the whole breadth of the forehead and united to the ears. This hairy veil, which resembled the front outline of the cap called by ladies the Mary Queen of Scots' cap, was lifted and lowered by means of the animals ears. It immediately occurred to the mind of Dr. Herschel, that this was a providential contrivance to protect the eyes of the animal from the great extremes of light and darkness to which all the inhabitants of the moon, on our side of it, are necessarily subjected.

The next animal observed was of the size of a goat, of bluish lead colour, with a single horn and long beard. It seemed to possess all the agility of the antelope, and bounded

over the green sward of the beautiful valley with all the sprightliness and playfulness of a young lamb.

Through the centre of this delightful valley there flowed a magnificent river, abounding in lovely islands, and frequented by water fowl of various kinds. Among others they observed a grey pelican, and great numbers of black and white cranes, who plunged their bills into the water, from time to time, in evident pursuit of their natural prey. The observers, however, were not gratified by the sight of a lunar fish, though they got a glimpse of a curious amphibious creature of spherical form, which rolled rapidly over the pebbly beach and disappeared immediately in the stream.

The nights of the 11th and 12th of January were cloudy, but on the 13th and 14th, their investigations were crowned with the most wonderful success, and were at last rewarded by a full view of the men of the moon, conversing, eating, and amusing themselves quite as rationally as those of our own planet.

The night of the 13th was one of pearly purity and loveliness. The moon ascended the firmament in gorgeous splendour, and the stars retiring from around her, left her the unrivalled queen of the hemisphere. The astronomer directed his attention to those parts of the moon which are known in modern catalogues by the names of Endymion, Cleomides, Langrenus and Petavius. He soon observed numerous volcanoes, some in active eruption, and others apparently in repose. One particularly near the Mare Mortuum was in a state of terrific eruption, and not very far distant, were lakes occupying exhausted craters apparently of immense depth, judging from the size and height of the mountains whose tops they occupied. The adjoining country seemed fertile to excess. Beautiful forests, divided by prairies like those of North America, fruit trees with glossy leaves and fruits and flowers in profusion, luxuriant meadows and running streams, with rocky or pebbly beds, rendered the whole scene indescribably charming. They here observed nine distinct kinds of mammalia, one of very singular appearance. It resembled the beaver in every respect, except that it was without a tail, and walked invariably on

two feet only. It carried its young in its arms, and moved with an easy, gliding carriage. It dwelt in huts constructed better apparently than those of many savage tribes of the earth, and evidently enjoyed the use of fire, as the smoke could be seen clearly ascending from their huts. In this vicinity, too, there appeared large flocks of veritable sheep that would not disgrace the halls of Leadenhall Market. This stimulated the curiosity of the observers, and induced them to look eagerly for the shepherd. But none appeared. The sheep seemed to be undisturbed lords of their domain.

At last, in a region of such picturesque beauty as to defy all attempts at description, where forests seemed suspended in air on cliffs that hung over the valley in a curve, equaling three-fourths of a gothic arch, just when the vale opened on the level margin of a lake of deep blue water, they observed three flocks of large winged creatures, in no wise resembling birds, descend with a slow, even motion, from the cliffs, and alight on the plain extending below. We saw, says Dr. Grant, three parties of these strange beings, of twelve, nine, and fifteen in each, walking erect towards a grove of tall trees near the eastern precipice. They were certainly like human beings, for their wings were now closed, and their attitude was erect and dignified. Having observed them for some minutes, we introduced the lens H, Z, which brought them to the apparent proximity of eighty yards. They averaged four feet in height, were covered, except on the face, with glossy, short, copper-coloured hair, and had wings, composed of thin membranes without hair, lying snugly on their backs, and extending from the top of the shoulders to the calves of the leg. In general symmetry of body and limbs, they were vastly superior to any of our species of *Simia*, and Lieut. Drummond remarked, that but for their long wings, they would look as well, on a parade ground, as most bodies of Cockney militia. The hair on their heads was of a darker colour than that of the body, of some length, and arranged in curious semi-circles over the temples and forehead. These creatures appeared evidently to be engaged in conversation, and their gesticulations, more especially the action of their hands and arms, were emphatic

and impassioned. They took to the water freely, shook the moisture from their wings like ducks, and stood, after their bath, like spread eagles, on the margin of the lake.

On the evening of the 14th, the observers discovered a magnificent temple, built of polished sapphire, displaying a myriad points of golden light, twinkling and scintillating in the sun-beams. The roof appeared to be covered with some sort of yellow metal, and to be supported by lofty columns, without capitals or pedestals. The inhabitants were not far off, and were evidently of a superior nature to those discovered on the preceding night, and which had been named the *Vespertilio homo* by the discoverers. Those now seen were of a large stature, and, in all respects, an improved variety of the race. They were engaged in feasting on a kind of large yellow fruit, which they devoured with as great enjoyment as aldermen exhibit at a civic feast. Indeed these happy people of the moon seemed to lead a life of uninterrupted pleasure, bathing, flying, conversing, and feasting on the products of the forest, without interruption or care. There was evidently a perfect state of amity between them and the inferior animals, and except the war waged on the fish by the piscatory cranes, which has been alluded to, universal peace prevails in the moon. Perhaps, indeed, the cranes may make no exception, and were in search, when dipping their bills into the water, of some vegetable marine substance which may serve as a substitute for their food among us.

We have condensed a portion of the moon discoveries, to give our readers some notion of the work. Its ingenuity and occasional eloquence and beauty of description, make it well worth perusal. In addition to these recommendations, it possesses the interest of having amused, delighted and deceived almost the whole reading world. Its effect in the United States has already been alluded to, as well as the notice which it excited in the French Academy. Notwithstanding the condemnation of the Academicians and the anger of Arago, the Parisians were infinitely delighted with the story. It spread through all Europe, and in remote parts of Germany is said to linger still in the belief of the people.

In Italy, above all other places, it seemed to take strong possession of the imaginative minds of the inhabitants. Lithographic prints appeared in all quarters, exhibiting the lunar scenes and inhabitants in all sorts of queer and comic associations. It even escaped the Index prohibitoria or expurgatoria of Papal vigilance, and, so far, was more fortunate than poor Mrs. Stowe's story, although Uncle Tom is even more interesting than the moon-hoax, is as generally believed by all the world, and is just about as true.

ART. IX.—SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS.

"*Septem Contra Thebas, a Tragedy of Æschylus.* Edited with English notes, for the use of Colleges. By AUGUSTUS SACHTLEBEN, Principal of a Classical School in Charleston, S. C.; ὁξεί 'Εριννύς ἐπέφνε* σὺν ἀλλαλοφονίᾳ γένος ἄρρήτων. Pindar. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1853."

AMIDST the clanking din of material utilitarianism,—with its rushing steamers and clattering rail-roads, and jingling dollars and whizzing machinery,—the low, musical tones of quiet and polished scholarship, and the utterances deep, not loud, of patient, unobtrusive erudition, scarcely ever reach the popular ear, much less receive the recognition to which they are justly entitled. When productive stock is to be secured, literature must be content to languish, and when dividends are to be divided, learning cannot be listened to. It, nevertheless, finds its audience fit though few; and those who are versed merely in the sea of current literature, would, perhaps, be surprised at learning the number of works annually published in Europe upon erudite subjects, which, from the nature of the case, can respectively interest only a limited circle. But those circles are numerous, and a learned work, in philology or classical criticism for instance, which

in this country would go a begging for a publisher, there finds its peculiar market, and its special periodicals to notice it.

The little volume which we have introduced in our rubric to the notice of our readers, is something of a phenomenon among us. A Greek Play, edited by a gentleman of Charleston, certainly marks an epoch in our local literary annals, and the manner in which the work is performed, leaves us no reason to regret that its author has presented himself as a representative of our scholarship. The book is modestly "inscribed" to Professor Felton, of Harvard; and, as we think, with perfect propriety. For not only could it seek the auspices of no more distinguished American scholar, but we have understood that it is in a great measure owing to his kind and generous encouragement, that the labours of the modest editor have been given to the public. We do not think that Mr. Felton will find any cause to be ashamed of even this slight connexion of his name with the volume; and while we understand him to be wholly irresponsible for the contents and execution of the work, we tender to him our grateful acknowledgments for encouraging its publication. Whatever faults Mr. Felton's perfect critical eye may detect in this book, they will not, we feel sure, deprive him of the noble satisfaction of having encouraged a young scholar to make that first step, which, even at the risk of failure, must be made by every aspirant. And the first Greek scholar in the Union, will readily pardon defects in one, who, like the editor of the book before us, evidently aims at the high standard of the school at whose head Mr. Felton stands, in contradistinction to that school which, destitute of taste, genius and enlarged criticism, would degrade our scholarship to the ignoble hack-work of the mere translator, and the, not always honest, compiler of better men's labours.

Mr. Sachtleben has been very happy in his selection of a subject for his editorial labours; inasmuch as he has given us a new text-book, instead of multiplying editions of classics already well edited. This first American edition of "The Seven against Thebes," will, we trust, induce teachers to enlarge or vary the reading of their pupils, especially as in

the execution of the notes to the work before us, the pupil has an example of and incitement to the acquisition of a higher scholarship than school-books ordinarily present. It is, of course, difficult to give to the general reader an adequate account of annotations upon a classic, which, to be properly estimated, must be inspected in connexion with the original text of the author; but we shall endeavor to direct our readers to such references as will show that in the present instance the editor has done his work in a thorough and conscientious manner—up to the full measure of his promises.

The well written preface opens with the following paragraph :

“Among the mythological legends of ancient Greece, which furnished material to the Attic dramatists for their poetical compositions, there was none of a more truly tragical character than that of the house of Labdacus, because none exhibited on a grander scale the vicissitude of human affairs, as the result of that conflict between individual freedom and a higher necessity, which constitutes the chief element of all tragedy among the ancients. Hence it is that the misfortunes of Laius and his descendants formed one of the favourite subjects for representation on the Athenian stage. All the great dramatists of whom we have any account, handled the subject with more or less success, and some of the finest specimens of dramatic poetry which have come down to our times treat of the fate of the royal house of Thebes.”

After a brief, but clear and satisfactory discussion of the critical question respecting the position of this play in the trilogy to which it belonged; and a few judicious remarks upon the merits of the piece as a work of art; the editor thus states what he proposed to perform in undertaking his labour :

“In preparing the notes which accompany the present edition of the ‘*Septem*,’ I have been guided by the conviction that nothing is more injurious to the cause of classical learning, than that system of indiscriminate annotation and translation, which leaves no room for the student’s own exertions. Whilst I have, therefore, endeavoured to explain every grammatical difficulty that presented itself, I have abstained

from giving the translation of any passage which the student may, with a reasonable effort on his own part, understand without that aid. Whenever a suitable parallel passage, especially in the dramatists occurred to me, I have quoted it, believing that an habitual careful comparison of similar passages in different authors is one of the easiest, and, at the same time, most interesting roads to the attainment of a thorough knowledge of the classics. The text of this edition is that of W. Dindorf, as printed in the '*Poetæ Scenici Græci*,' published at Oxford in 1846. For obvious reasons I have left it unaltered, although in the notes I have occasionally given preference to the readings of other editors. The editions of *Æschylus* which I have used in preparing the commentary, are :

"1. That of Thomas Stanley and Samuel Butler, in eight volumes. Cambridge, 1816.

"2. That of Augustus Wellauer, published in 1823, at Leipzig, in four volumes.

"3. *Æschyli Septem contra Thebas*, emendavit, etc. Car. Jacob. Blomfield. London, 1847. Edit. via.

"4. The '*Annotations ad Æschyli Tragædias*' of W. Dindorf, issued from the Oxford press in 1841, in two volumes.

"The grammars to which frequent reference has been made in the notes, are those of Matthiæ, (translated by E. V. Bloomfield, 5th edition, London, 1837,) and Jelf's translation of Raphael Kühner's large Greek Grammar, 2d edition, Oxford, 1851."

It is no fault of Mr. Sachtleben that he had not the benefit of Hermann's labours upon *Æschylus*, (a posthumous publication, edited by Haupt, Leipsic, 1852,) in time for his edition. It would only, however, have given him a further choice as to his text ; and, in a work of this kind, what principally concerns us is the character of the notes, and the assistance furnished to the class of students for whom they are designed. That our editor has proceeded upon correct principles in preparing his notes is unquestionable ; we have only to see how successfully he has carried them into execution, and with a view to this, we refer our readers particularly to the following portions of the editor's annotations :

The note pages 63, 64, (line 78, &c.,) at the first appearance of the chorus, is judicious, and to the youthful student instructive ; nor should we here pass by the scholarly note upon a vexed passage—pages 64, 65, on line 83.

On page 69, (line 145) the good judgment and correct intelligence evinced in the note will be at once recognized.

A good illustration of an idiom, sometimes overlooked or misapprehended occurs at page 70 (line 156.)

As an instance of the editor's judgment, we would refer to the note, page 73, (line 186) ; while the note, page 87, (line 338-9), although brief, should not be overlooked, as it calls attention to an important point of Syntax, which our experience leads us to fear is not properly attended to by all teachers.

The notes, pages 89, 90, 91, (on lines 363-366, 374), afford a good example to editors, (who do not possess the requisite apparatus to justify them in making emendations), not to be "wise above what is written." A purely conjectural emendation is not to be ventured by the hack-man and mere compiler ; and a change in the text is not to be tolerated in an editor, who, perhaps, has never seen even a single manuscript of his author. Our editor, without declining to meet difficulties fairly, yet judiciously avoids the faults just alluded to.

On page 95, (line 405), a syntactical point is noticed, which we commend to the attention of teachers.

As an example of the editor's method of illustration, by reference to parallel passages, we may refer here, in passing, as it happens to lie in our way, to page 96, (on line 414) ; although our editor's annotations are, throughout distinguished by this excellent feature.

The note at pages 101-2 (line 474), we think very judicious ; and we feel sure that the note, page 109, (line 550-2), will commend itself to all critical students.

Our editor's good judgment is again evinced in the notes upon a vexed passage—pages 112-3, (line 576 ; and, also, pages 115-6, on line 601.

We would call attention to the note on the text, and its accompanying foot-note, page 118, (line 635.) So, also, we would direct particular attention to the following notes, as indicating judgment, scholarship and good work, viz : pages 120-1, on lines 653, 654, 657, 662, 663.

Careful and learned work is also exhibited at page 124,

(line 695); pages 124–5, (line 699); pages 131–2, (line 785, 786); to which we beg leave to suggest the special consideration of the student.

Again we must refer to two judicious notes at page 136, line 859); and page 144, (line 1047); but these must suffice. We might go on, at far greater length, in this work, of designating passages demanding and rewarding special examination.

Our limited space compels us to omit references to many other notes which we had marked, and which would still more abundantly have shown the ability and erudition of the editor. To speak of a work like the present, (where, from the nature of the design, the annotations are condensed, and must be taken in immediate relation to the text,) without free quotations of many of the notes bodily, is something like reviewing a mathematical work without quoting a single formula. Thus necessarily limited to general remarks, we have given the above references with the hope of inducing our teachers and classical readers to examine the work, by indicating some of the passages which will facilitate an examination, and enable our readers to turn at once to fair specimens of the manner in which the work is executed. We feel no doubt with regard to the verdict of competent teachers; and we hesitate as little in commending the volume to these amateur scholars—who, we are happy to believe, exist among us—endeavoring to keep up and enlarge their classical knowledge.

We must omit any comparison of the text adopted by our editor with the more recent text of Hermann—who, by the way, in several instances justifies our editor's views), because the text before us having been adopted and annotated upon, before the appearance of Haupt's labours, we had only to examine how the proffered work was executed. Mr. Sachtleben's notes will, however, be found most useful to the student of this play, even if he be so fortunate as to possess the edition of Hermann;—the difference of readings between Dindorf and Hermann, does not impair the value of our editor's annotations on the play.

While Mr. Sachtleben is by no means one of those editors,

reprehended by Lord Bacon, who discourse upon the easy places, and blink the difficult ;—on the contrary, while he honestly meets the difficulties, and shows his scholarship in knowing what has been and can be said about them ;—at the same time, he occasionally glides into the fault of stating what ought to be sufficiently known—which impairs the terseness of his notes ;—while he sometimes forgets that the College-student cannot be expected to have access to the critical sources to which he refers, or at least, be competent to decide upon their differences in a disputed reading or interpretation. This, however, is one of the commonest faults of editors, and may, perhaps, be excused, upon the ground that editions, like the one before us, are intended not only to teach the pupil, but also to assist and excite to emulation the intelligent teacher, who, as yet young and comparatively inexperienced in his vocation, is animated by a proper ambition, and gladly greets a text-book which will guide him in his own researches.

From an examination of the notes to which references have been given, our readers will easily perceive that the editor has come to his task with abundant and careful preparation,—that he not only knows when and where to afford assistance, but that his assistance is also of the most judicious character,—that his notes are calculated to induce intelligent students to consult a variety of classical authors,—and that excellent as is his learning, his notions of practical instruction would appear to be not inferior. We trust that our Colleges and schools will hail, with just appreciation, the appearance of a classic edited at the South, in a manner not inferior to any book of the kind which has issued from the American press, and really greatly superior to the mass of classical text-books with which the country is flooded. We indulge the hope, that this first fruit of Mr. Sachtleben's labors will only prove the precursor of still more important performances, such as, we are well aware, there are comparatively few among us possessing the ability to execute so ably, and which will place him in that rank among our American scholars which he deserves to occupy. M.

ART. IX.—LETTER ON ABUSE OF SUFFRAGE.

[We gave place, some time ago, to a letter from a distinguished citizen, in respect to a very common abuse of the right of suffrage, by the use of “plumpers” at elections.—The communication which follows, from the hands of another correspondent, suggests other abuses of the same great privilege, which are not less important for consideration.—The subject is of too great interest to the well being of the country, to suffer us to reject contributions, which take the form of the essay, rather than the Review, and we feel no scruple at thus occasionally diversifying the pages of our periodical. In publishing the one before us, we are glad of an opportunity when there are no pending elections in our State; when the revelations made, and the sentiments uttered can have no invidious bearing upon any individuals, and when the calm in the public mind will better allow of the unbiassed and thoughtful consideration, without any personal application, on the part of our readers, of the deplorable and pernicious evils of which complaint is made.]

MY DEAR SIR: You advise me of a public meeting to be held at the Court House in ———, next sale day, to take action against the system of electioneering which prevails in that district, as perhaps in every district of the State, to the gross and grievous abuse of the morals of the country. You request my attendance, and are pleased to refer with compliment to the course which I pursued when myself before the people. You do me only justice when you assume my feelings and opinions to be in perfect unison with your own, and in hostility to this wretched system; and I rejoice that its enormities have at length aroused your people to a sense of the danger and the public shame which belong to its continued exercise. Were it possible, I should find the greatest satisfaction in presenting myself before my old constituents in ———, prepared to strike an honest blow, to the best of my ability, against the foul and degrading practices which prevail at every popular election; practices

which are, at once, so insulting to the pride of a people, and so destructive to their best securities. But my present mode of life, with scarce a respite, is one of incessant drudgery. My duties in the city will not suffer me to leave it at the time appointed for your meeting ; will scarcely allow me the leisure necessary to write you this epistle. But a sense of duty still, compels me to address you a few words of encouragement, in the wholesome labor which you have begun ; and to remind your people of the language which I addressed to them, on this very subject, when I had the honor to serve them in a public capacity. I then denounced the whole system of canvassing, which every where prevailed throughout the country, as every where injurious to the popular morals, fatal to the pride and personal character as well of the people as the candidate, and totally subversive of all the securities which are expected to flow from an honest and independent representation.

My convictions, now, are the same as then. My opinions have undergone no modification. I still see all the aspects of the practice, in the same hideous deformity of feature which they wore at that period to my eyes ; and have been strengthened in the resolution which I then expressed, to give them no countenance by any practice of my own. But the begging for votes, the treating for votes, and the lying for votes—which all belong to this system—evil enough in themselves, are only the fruits of a custom which must be itself abolished, before you will be able to destroy its progeny. You may remember that I expressed myself as hostile to *candidacy itself*, where the office sought was one of dignity and honor, rather than profit ; as wholly inconsistent with the idea of manhood and character in the person seeking such office. I held it to be the genuine source of all the demagoguism of public men, and of all the corruptions of the people. I held it to be the source of that miserable habit of flattering the people, and so sugaring their senses with unwholesome praises, as, finally, to make the truth an offensive expression in their ears ; as leading them into a forgetfulness of what was due to the right of suffrage ; and persuading them to confer *that, as a bounty*, to which the

proper representative should really possess a proper right. I insisted upon the doctrine, laid down by one of our own best statesmen, that "office was neither to be sought nor declined;" that it implied qualities of mind and character, in the incumbent, of a sort which would not suffer him to urge his own pretensions, or resort to any solicitations in support of them; that it was only the "fool who would rush in where the angel would fear to tread;" and that the best wisdom in the world might well be content to wait the call of a people for its help, without thrusting itself upon their hands, in advance of their own appreciation of its worth.—Thus patiently waiting this summons, the citizen would then truly feel their choice of his people as an honor,—as a just tribute to modest worth, and to endowments which have made themselves known by their daily workings. Thus, too, and perhaps only thus, would the constituent be made properly secure in the good faith and the ability of the representative to whom they confide their rights, property and sacred honor. How should they confide in or honor him, who had obtained his post by sycophancy; by fraud; by bribery; mean and selfish combination; and subterfuges which would disgrace the pettifogger?—by the potency of wine or whiskey; by arguments to the pocket or the stomach of the voter, which could not be addressed to his affections or his intellect! How should they honor or have faith in him, even while they vote for him, whom they find posting from house to house; descending to embrace those whom, at another time, he would not acknowledge; putting off all personal dignity in the association with people who are scorned and loathed in their several neighbourhoods; who are the notorious moral sores and scabs of the country, and whom they know are thus honored by the gracious candidate, only as instruments by which he is to usurp authority over all better sorts of people! and all this bowing, begging, cringing and corruption, ostensibly for what? For the privilege of being the maker of a nation's laws; for the precious distinction of being the champion of a people's rights, and the watchful guardian of their liberties and honor! as if such a process of laborious shame and prostitution could be undertaken by

one worthy of such a trust ! as if any people, conscious of the great services to be rendered by such a champion, would ever—so long as they preserved their senses—require him to descend to such unmitigated infamy !

Yet candidacy seems unavoidably, where the office is one of pure dignity and honor, and not of profit, to involve such practices. It is suggestive of arts which are meant to supply the deficiencies of virtues. It prompts appeals to the passions, prejudices, vices and weaknesses of the people, rather than to their social virtues and their honest understanding. It encourages hundreds and thousands to aspire to offices, to which, were this not the tolerated practice, they would never for a moment pretend. Candidacy is wholly unnecessary, and would not be endured for an hour, where the people are true to themselves ! The duty rests on them to seek out their representatives ; changing entirely the relations of the parties, and showing the voter in the last degree jealous of a right, upon the proper exercise of which rests every security, whether of property or liberty. A people, once taught the value of their votes, will never suffer them to be tampered with in any way ; will quickly understand that they are not to be accorded to a beggar—not to be sold for a dram, or a dinner—not to be bought by a booby or a brute ! No species of cajolery can beguile them of the most precious of their privileges—that of choosing their own law-givers and guardians ; and they will feel that, to bestow their suffrages upon the unworthy, is, in fact, such a prostitution of their right, as should well deserve to work its forfeiture.

The right of suffrage, morally examined, is not an inevitable one. It is held only on conditions. We cannot do with it, conscientiously, as we think proper. We have no right to bestow it, at our caprice, or upon the unworthy.—The exercise of the privilege assumes, on the part of the citizen, not only the discretion which can justly judge, but the conscientiousness which still insists upon the qualifications of the representative. He must be capable, in the highest degree, of the duties of the office ; he must be worthy of the confidence which yields it to his keeping ; he must

have like interests with those whom he is commissioned to represent. These are the absolute conditions for the public safety. Public men must needs always be chosen with these qualifications, or the voter votes unworthily, if not dishonestly. *He has no right to vote for any person not possessing all of these qualifications.* One of them will not answer, nor two of them,—he must have all of them, or the trust is confided to unsafe, if not treacherous hands. The power to choose his representative, and to cast his suffrage for him, was conferred upon the voter, in recognition of his supposed capacity to judge of the representative, and his supposed conviction of the absolute necessity of choosing with a satisfied conscience. It is a right upon which interests, public and private, other than his own, depend. It is not sufficient that he votes for the most plausible person that offers. *It is his duty* to seek out heedfully the best man of the community in which he lives,—to employ any amount of painstaking in finding the fit representative—to be sure that the person he selects is one to whom he can safely confide his life, his property and liberty—for these are the vast interests which we yield to the keeping of him to whom we yield the business of public legislation. It will not do for the voter to plead ignorance of the qualifications of his neighbour. He is bound to know who are the best men of the community, or he is no good citizen. Such a remissness argues a degree of indifference to the moral possessions of the community, which proves nothing more conclusively than the slavish selfishness of him who indulges in it. You do not adopt your overseer, or your factor, without seeking the best man that can be got. Yet, to overseer and factor you confide but a single crop. Shall you be less solicitous in searching the character and capacity of him to whom you confide your whole plantation?—to whom you yield the power of making laws which may degrade you—of imposing taxes which may ruin you—of usurping a power which may shackle your children's arms and your own forever!

But there is really no difficulty in discovering the capable and the worthy in every precinct. The world is not so full of large-brained and high-souled men as to leave any doubt

in the public mind, where to look for them, if the search be desirable. They are generally conspicuous objects in every community. They are distinguished in a thousand ways; by habits of business; by punctuality; by assiduous attention to their own affairs; by a readiness in emergency, and by a capacity, when called upon to serve, which is seldom found at fault. They are always distinguished by the jealousy and the hostility of the mere pretender. There is no deficiency, in any community, of the proper men for its public duties—unless, indeed, like Ninevah, God has decreed its destruction. You have but to obey a single counsel of the Holy volume—"Seek and ye shall find"—a duty as necessary in politics as in religion. You can never find unless you seek. This is the rule which, above all, I should strive to teach. Superior men must be sought. They will not beg for favor. It is too great a sacrifice, for a proud and competent mind to make, that which requires him to truckle to all men's humours, for the privilege of serving them, and saving them, from themselves as well as others. This is the *new* conviction that you must acquire; that the exercise of the right of suffrage is for your own safety and benefit, and not to gratify the vanity of every poor devil who desires to be, in spite of nature and his stars, a law maker and a ruler in the land.

"But," say you, "the men thus described, will not serve us. We must take what we can get—take the best that offers. We acknowledge that they are poor devils, but there is no choice. If we could get abler and better men, do you doubt that we should prefer them."

You do not try better men! This is the reason why I counsel you to reverse the system, and *seek* the representatives, rather than suffer them to *seek* you. You will never get proper men till you do so. *Try* better men, at all events. Believe me, there are few properly-minded men who will not cheerfully serve, in any appropriate public capacity, whenever the will of the community shall clearly manifest itself in their behalf. No man has a right to deny himself to the service of the country, whenever his abilities are required.

The rule holds good in civil as in military affairs. No man have the right to expect that other men shall contribute their time and talent to the business of government, for his benefit and protection, and he selfishly withhold himself from taking his part in the direction of public affairs. A reasonable portion of every man's time, at some period of his life, is due to the public service. You have the right to ask it, and he, unless under particular circumstances of private difficulty, has not the right to refuse. Try, therefore, for the better men. Seek them, and they will be found. No doubt there will be difficulty, but the object is quite too important to be abandoned without frequent effort. You will have much to encounter, of trouble and annoyance. The selfish and the cunning will take the field against you. Intrigue and management will meet you at every step. Abuse and misrepresentation will assail you, to say nothing of frequent temptations to turn aside from your better object. Rival nominations will be made by persons in the back ground, having their own ends to answer,—who will spread a thousand secret meshes on every side; and, so perseveringly work, through a thousand corrupt and corrupting agents, that, in very despair of contending with so many cunning combinations, you will be often moved to give up the seemingly unprofitable struggle. But you must not do so! Be as firm and persevering in the cause of right, as the enemy is in that of wrong, and you are sure to triumph. A few good rules, adopted rigidly by all persons determined on reforming abuses, and securing proper representation in public affairs, and you must succeed in your object. Shall I suggest to you these rules? They are brief enough, and may be easily compassed by any memory. Resolve to vote for nobody who begs your vote—who seeks for it directly or indirectly, through improper means—who gives drinks, dinners and barbecues, with this apparent object—who is not equal to the duties of the office which he seeks—who cannot properly maintain the rights and character of the country or the people. Let every citizen, bent on reforming the evils of the present system of electioneering, adopt these resolutions, and you form at once a standing army equally powerful in

character and numbers, and sufficiently strong, I honestly believe, in every community in the State, to elevate the worthy to high places, and put down the pretensions of mere vanity, with all its auxiliary influences of bribery and corruption.

And it is mere vanity and presumption, usually, by whom these agencies are employed. The incompetent man would never presume to seek for office, if these were not ready made auxiliaries, obedient to his call. He calculates distinctly upon the number in the community who are directly to be bought with money ;—upon another and a larger class, with whom the miserable bribe of drink and dinner will be quite sufficient ;—and upon others yet, who are to be won by cajoling condescensions ;—the monied man, or the man of long genealogy, stooping to “drink hael” with the poor man and the *parvenu* ! Where the candidate is awkwardly conscious of his incompetence—and, with all the vanity of this class, seven in ten have their misgivings on this subject—he must calculate on the ignorance and the venality of the community for his chances of success. He must supply, by cunning, what he lacks in character. Sometimes he rests his hope upon what is negative in his character. He has done nothing *good* ; but he has done nothing evil. He has shown no resources of mind ; but he has given no offence. If he lacks power for evil, it is something to say that he is harmless ; and with a good sense-keeper or file-leader in a public body, he will probably vote safely, if not understandingly. At other times, he and his friends rest their hope upon the unpopularity of a rival ; upon the hostility which another candidate has inspired in the breast of this or that clique, or party, in the community. Sometimes he relies upon a popular hobby ; and with certain catch-words in his mouth forever, he manages to persuade the simple voter that he is acquainted with all the paces of the beast he rides. Then, again, he contrives to league himself with others, equally wanting in merit with himself, yet equally desirous of being in high places ; and, by combinations, working together as the common object ; the defeat of the common superior, they practice that game which is familiarly known to you as “logrolling”—one of the most pernicious of all the

modes employed for defeating the objects of all the better sort of people in a community. But, no matter what the processes by which they toil, it is certain that these pretenders never rely upon themselves;—upon their intrinsic claims and virtues; leaving to the people the privilege of choosing fairly whom they prefer. Bribery and management—trick and falsehood—hate and flattery—sycophancy and deception—meat and drink;—these are the ministers of evil whom they employ to do for them what they can never do for themselves. They rely on any virtues rather than their own. In the use of these agents and allies, their industry is as wonderful as it is vicious. In the rural districts they are forever on the road; in the cities forever in the streets. You will find them in every hole and corner, where the simple man is to be corrupted. They shake hands with Smith; they embrace Jenkins, and invite Tompkins home to dinner. They never forget to make the most affectionate inquiries after the wives and children of Tomps, Jenks and Smiths, though they never knew or heard of either fry before;—and these poor men, flattered by these universal condescensions, overlook entirely the fact that such civilities, only at the time when their votes are wanted, are so many positive insults! The practice, and the arts, are, with very slight differences, the same both in town and country. In the country, in order to prove that pride is not among his virtues, the candidate goes home sometimes to dine with the voter; in the city the voter is expected to dine with the candidate. The corruption of the people, in both regions, if not the immediate object, is always the immediate result. In the country a great deal is effected through the agency of “whiskey and barbacued muttuns;”—in the cities, “turtle soup and champagne,” are the more refined ministers in doing the work of corruption. Now, those who thus cram and swill at the cost of the candidate, and who know all the while what he seeks, would yet be terribly outraged were you to suppose that they were to be bought with such petty temptations. But I am afraid they neither deceive themselves, nor any body else. The fact is, the candidate knows equally their price and value! In truth, the parties understand each

other. The shepherd who sold his birthright, six thousand years ago, for a mess of pottage, left myriads of successors behind him, who, without the same necessity, are doing the same thing every day;—selling, indeed, something more than their birthright; selling their souls; becoming swinish on drink and swill, which leaves body and mind equally degraded, and equally at the mercy of the enemy.

While on this subject, I must beg leave to warn you of one mistake which is frequently made in both town and country. Many persons partake freely of the feast of the candidate, with a mental reservation not to vote for him. They deny that he has any right to calculate upon their support, simply because they break bread at his table. But I submit that, *where his object is understood, and where they are his guests only when he seeks their suffrages*, they tacitly enter into an engagement to sustain him. At all events, they give a countenance to his design. They lead others to suppose that he has their support;—they thus strengthen his cause,—and thus contribute to produce the conviction, in other minds, that he is irresistible! This discourages better men; leads to despondency among the friends of other persons, whose claims and practices are less questionable;—and brings about the result just as certainly as if they did support him with the most hearty zeal and sympathy. Even where you waive all feelings of indignation, at the assumption that you are to be bribed with a feast, you cannot with propriety partake of it, when, by doing so, you contribute to prejudice the public opinion, and discourage every thing like an independent canvas; when you see, and feel, that you are assumed to be the supporter of him upon whom you feed; and when this assumption, whether you vote for him or not, is so much capital in his service! You are bound, on the contrary, particularly to avoid him at such a period;—to encourage no calculations on his part;—and, in order to give encouragement to those who would rebuke his practices, steadily to take ground in opposition; to refuse his invitation to drink or dinner; and show to him, and to your neighbours equally, that you do not sanction pretensions which are only to be urged by the abuse and destruction of all the

securities of the commonwealth. There is no receiving favors of any kind at the hands of an usurper—and a mere pretender, is always an incipient usurper—without absolute peril and probable loss. What says the Poet?—

“ He who once enters in a Tyrant’s hall,
As guest, *is slave* !”

And the tyrant is usually a person whose fortune, or bribery, or force, has placed in a position to which he is unequal—to which neither his talents, nor his virtues, entitle him to aspire ! He must, either through his vices, or his weaknesses, abuse the power which is confided to his hands !

The candidate whose hopes are thus built upon his arts, finds, unhappily, a thousand willing agents to assist him in them. You all know that, in ———, and I suppose in other districts of the State,—perhaps in all of them,—there is a considerable tribe who feed and fatten, for six months in the year, at the expense of the candidates and their friends. Whiskey and barbacues are furnished at every public gathering or muster ground, and frequently without any authority from the parties who are expected to pay ; and, at the close of the campaign, enormous bills are sent in to the sufferers. Who has eaten, or who has drunken, they know not. The feed was for their friends. Whether they procured by it a single vote, is a problem ; but the money must be paid. Your good friends, who have furnished these feasts in your cause, must not be allowed to suffer. And thus it is that a pack of worthless sots and gormandizers are maintained without the slightest necessity or use, in their vile employment of demoralizing the public character, and degrading and sapping the safeguards and securities of the country. It is said that the same thing exists in the city. A gentleman of this place told me, but a few days ago, that similar tribes thus cram and swill almost nightly, for three months before an election—beginning with the opening of the canvass ;—and not only assess the candidates, but such among their friends also as are able, and can be persuaded to pay, in liquidation of these expenditures. He himself, my informant, had, for a long time, suffered from these *assess-*

ments, as they are here delicately styled ;—and, until a recent period, was weak enough to submit to this taxation. Could you desire a more subtle or more vicious mode of social corruption ! Can you conceive of any more effectual process by which to surrender the liberties of a people into the hands of the mere money holder ? What can follow, from such a practice, but the total exclusion from public office of every poor man, whatever may be the claims of his intellect and morals ? The consequence must be the complete monopoly of all the power of the country, in the hands of persons, whose sole capacity consists in their ability to meet such exactions ; a pecuniary plethora, in this way, constituting the only recognized claim to statesmanship ! Of course, all the class thus feeding on the office seeker, are steadily opposed to the nomination of persons whom deficient resources place beyond the reach of assessment. Their cry will be for those candidates only, who can be made to bleed freely ; and thus we have a party, which must necessarily be growing always, whose policy it is steadily to work against the claims of all persons, whatever their endowments, whose poverty denies satisfaction to the voracious cravings of their appetites and thirst !

With such histories before us, shall we wonder that the whole country is now placed in such a condition of peril ;—that there is abroad so much that is dangerous in legislation ;—so much that is evil in doctrine ;—so much that is vicious in society ! May we not ascribe to such a condition of things, the deplorable fact that a President of the United States is now usually but a third or fourth rate person,—and that a sliding-scale of talent and worth, regularly declining,—is the graduating standard by which the subordinate offices are so commonly filled up ;—men now being chosen in reference to the flexibility of their morals, rather than the virtues in their minds. High-minded, capable and honourable persons sink entirely out of sight, and are lost to the service of the country ; at the very time when such men, of all others, are most necessary to its safety and affairs ;—and modest worth is compelled to retire from a field, which no longer affords room to merit ! Shall we wonder that

legislation so commonly now conducts us from hard ground into a quagmire, like that of the wretched intellects which we so frequently employ ;—and from which, in the end, the danger is, that no statesmanship, however great,—no character or courage, however pure and firm,—will be able to extricate us, even if permitted, at the last hour, to come to our assistance!

You may always safely assume that he who lends himself to the corruption of the people ;—who treats for votes, begs for votes, lies for votes, and buys votes, will himself, when occasion serves, and with sufficient temptation, be just as ready to sell his own. You may, also, safely assume that such a person never possesses any proper requisite for the office which he seeks. The essentially high qualities of talent and character, which should always be sought for in the selection of a popular representative, are quite inconsistent with the baseness which, cap in hand, traverses the country or the city ;—bowing to all it meets, begging from all it can, and, where venality hangs out its sign, buying the suffrage which no honest man has the right to sell ! The man who will descend to these practices, sets out with a degrading opinion of human nature which proves very conclusively his own. He sees, through his own, the complexion of other hearts ; and thus acknowledges that the bribes and arts which seduce his neighbour, are such as would readily seduce himself. But such a practice is almost *prima facie* evidence of the utter incapacity of the candidate, in an intellectual point of view, for the office which he seeks. The man of real intellect is naturally proud and self-reliant. He disdains the resort to inferior arts in the attainment of an object to which he holds a legitimate title from the hands of God. He would feel shame and humiliation, rather than pride, if the choice of the community was to be governed by his money rather than his mind ; and there is such an intimate sympathy between mind and moral, that, where the former exists, it implies usually enough of the latter, to make it recoil with loathing from a practice, which builds its chances of success entirely upon the venality and baseness of its people. It follows, if this be true, that the very

resort to any arts, no matter of what sort, which would tend to bias the honest exercise of suffrage on the part of the people, should be sufficient to condemn the guilty party, not only upon moral grounds, to utter and lasting exclusion from public favour, but upon the minor consideration also, of his presumed mental incapacity for the office which he desires. And, apart from moral considerations, this should be conclusive. A vital essential, among the requisites for office, is capacity. This wanting, neither God nor men can supply the deficiency by a reference to any other, however attractive virtues!

What remains but that I should repeat the exhortation, to hold fast to that faith which teaches, that all our safety, as a people, depends upon the simple fact that we cast our votes honestly and wisely—for the honest and the wise,—and to the downright rejection of all pretenders; that we seek out these wise and honest men,—assured that, if we search earnestly, we shall surely find. God leaves no people without the proper persons to take charge of their higher interests. He endows certain men, in every race or tribe, with the necessary faculties for this purpose; and your safety depends upon the fact that you find these men—these real, genuine lawgivers by nature; and not any counterfeit presentments—not any humbugs—to use the rough, expressive coinage of our own country. *You must seek out your able men; you must not wait for them to seek you.* And you must seek them, not as if you were about to do them a favor,—patronizingly patting them upon the shoulder, with a—“Be humble and grateful now, and we will make you a lawgiver”—but with the language of humility, on your own lips, as of one in peril, and in grievous want of assistance. I know how hard you will find it to do this. It is so different from the usual practice. Hitherto, your votes were commonly bestowed as charities upon very pressing beggars. The thing is to be reversed. You will have to begin in time. And, verily, my friends, our want is great, our necessity is very urgent. Our ship is at sea in very stormy weather. Our captain has been swept overboard! Our chief officers have disappeared from the decks! All is panic and uncertainty. There

are breakers ahead. The tempest is driving you upon a lee shore full of rocky dangers. If ever there was a juncture when you needed the best heads, and the strongest hands, now is the time ; Look about your crew, quickly, carefully, understandingly, and choose your men for the peril. See to whom you give the helm ! I can hardly suppose that it is, at such a moment, that you will prefer the sailor who proposes to throw open the liquor locker to the crew ; nor will I permit myself to believe that you will give the speaking trumpet just now to the cook ! Don't think of the drinks and the dinners at such a juncture, or you are swamped forever—dying a dog's death in the sea, stuffed with bread, and and raging with those fires, which, as Shakspeare hath it, steal away the brain. Your best men now,—every where, in all parts of the ship,—or you are lost. I have told you how to find your best men. Seek them quickly, seek them always, if you would be safe ! Who can manage the office best ?—as who can manage the vessel best ?—that is the only question ! Be sure, always, to prefer *that* man, and you put an end to the whole host of humbugs and pretenders ; with all the auxiliary vices in their train,—fraud, lying, drunkenness, and every sort of public debauchery ! I am in the same ship with you—we sink or swim together,—and this must be my apology for talking with you so earnestly and so long.

ART. X.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

WE have received a "*Discours prononcé a la Cathédrale de Saint Louis, (Nouvelle-Orleans, 1846,) a l'occasion de l'Anniversaire du 8 Janvier, par L'Abbé, A. Rouquette, de la Louisiane,*" published in Paris, the same year, by Sauvaignat, and "*Wild Flowers: Sacred Poetry,*" by the same writer, who is the author, we are also told of "*Les Savanes,*" a collection of French poems. The last work we have never seen. The first, the oration, is a flowing discourse, quite French in manner as in language—showing an ambitious style, and some considerable play of fancy—a sort of heat-lightning, that sports with the light clouds which it has not the power to rend. A dedication is prefixed, mostly given to the praises of christianity, as tending to strengthen and elevate the feeling of patriotism, and the political importance of the youthful virtues. The Abbé does not forbear a little self glorification, which is amiable and innocent enough. The address contains much spirited declamation. The notes occupy considerable space, and are made up chiefly of French criticisms of the author's writings in verse. In these foreign and domestic criticisms, the author is assigned very high rank as a poet. "Vous êtes le barde de la Louisiane," writes Brizeux—"l'Ossian de l'Amerique; mais la France vous réclame aussi, et vous place parmi ses poètes." Barthélemy writes to him—"J'ai reconnu dans vos poésies, le Juvénal marseillais, une abondante facilité qui ne déceale en rien l'origine Américaine, et une haute philosophie religieuse empreinte de la manière des grands maîtres, &c. Sainte-Beuve, who is described as a celebrated critic, writes—"J'ai pris plaisir à respirer dans vous *Savanes* toutes sortes de parfums pleins de jeunesse et de franchise." A compliment, by the way, involving an equivoque. All sorts of perfumes are scarcely commendable to English nostrils. Emile Deschamps writes—"En effet, les poésies de M. Rouquette révèlent un haut talent, développé par de profondes méditations religieuses et de fortes études. Sa versification est pure comme sa pensée; elle coule facile et mélodieuse, abondante et limpide comme une source naturelle." Of the author himself, the French paper "*L'Ami de la religion,*" says—

"Ce jeune homme, Français d'origine, appartient à l'une des familles les plus influentes de la Nouvelle-Orléans. Il a fait en France des humanités brillantes; et depuis on l'a vu à Paris, dans des temps divers, se consacrer à des études graves et variées. Le grand monde eut d'abord pour lui des attrait; mais il consigna bientôt ses premiers adieux aux joies et aux séductions du siècle dans un charmant volume de poésies,

intitulé : *Les Savanes*, dont les plus remarquables sont consacrées à la très Sainte Vierge."

One of the English newspapers of Orleans, describing his oration, on its delivery in that city in 1846, adds the following farther description :

"When he had concluded, a youthful looking priest, with a degree of nervous agitation natural to his years, crossed the sanctuary, and kneeling before the Bishop for his blessing, quickly ascended the pulpit. We know not when we have been more deeply interested in the appearance of a christian minister. His long, black, luxuriant locks fell back in curls from a wide, though not elevated forehead, beneath which glowed dark and eloquent eyes, full of fire and expression, and set in arched eyebrows, black as his hair, imparting a striking Italian character to the upper portion of his face. His nose was well defined, yet delicate, such as we often see in the paintings of the ancient masters. His face was thin, colourless, and of a clear olive tint, while around his spiritual mouth there constantly hung an expression of peculiar sweetness. The whole head was statuesque in lineament and intellectual in expression. We have said his face was Italian in its character, but however much he resembled the genius-gifted sons of that land of letters and art, he was in fact a Creole—a native Louisianian, brought up under the eyes, and cherished by the sympathies of his fellow citizens of the First Municipality.

"He addressed the assembly in French. In his exordium, which was modest, yet full of grace, he could be heard with difficulty ; but as he proceeded and became excited by his subject, his voice increased in volume without losing its musical tone, his eyes flashed, the muscles of his face quivered with emotion, and beautiful smiles, springing like dimples on the surface of a transparent lake, continually played round his eloquent lips ; while his energetic, unstudied, yet not ungraceful gesticulation, aided in expressing the manifestations of the mind and soul that were heaving beneath their mortal frame."

If the Abbé, poet and priest—offices, by the way, which should be united always, and were in the times when priests were apostles,—only made half the impression upon the young damsels, his flock, that he seems to have made upon the editor of the Commercial Bulletin, from which this extract is taken, we should put up our prayers earnestly, for the safety of the young priest. We should apprehend for him, if he did not fall into temptation,—or even if he did,—the fate of him, whose mangled frame, torn to pieces by the loving violence of the Thracian women, was "borne down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore." Thus far, our poet seems to exhibit—at least in his verses—quite as much

indifference to the damsels in his precinct, as did the doubly devoted Orpheus. He sings to them in no strains of mortal love. His passion, not so cold as that of St. Jerome, is still quite as exclusively set on holy things. He sings the virgin, and virgin affections only. The first poem in the collection before us, is dedicated in a style greatly to astonish, if not to rebuke, the cold severities of the Protestant taste. We shall select this little piece as a very fair sample of this collection of "Wild Flowers."

"To the blessed Virgin Mary, Queen of Heaven."

The fairest flowers in deserts bloom !—
 Though none there be to cultivate,
 They lavish still their wild perfume ;—
 Would that my verses match'd their fate !

But, from their blissful solitude
 A wooing breeze has wafted them ;
 And now, in cities, unbedewed,
 Ah ! who shall prop each drooping stem ?

Who house them, 'neath a shelt'ring wing,
 From soiling dust, and with'ring blast ;
 Who shall defend from Envy's sting,
 And, stainless, save them all at last ?

'Tis thou, O Queen of Muses chaste :—
 Whate'er is holy, fair, divine,
 The humblest boon, all flowers are blest,
 If brought and offered at thy shrine :—

These flowers I, then, with spirit pure,
 These lays, O Queen, I offer thee !—
 Oh ! guard my soul from glory's lure ;
 And, to protect, be e'er with me !

In all my struggles with the world,
 With friends unseen, unfelt, though great,
 With demon spirits, thunder-hurled,
 From realms of light to darkest state ;

In dreadful hours, when driven far
 On stormy sea, for e'er, as now,
 Be thou my safely-guiding star,
 My soul-protecting shield, be Thou !

We are not able to say such warm things of our author's verses—of which the preceding piece is a fair specimen—as his more fond and

generous French critics, and he must be content, if we admit the smoothness, and sweetness, and simplicity of his muse, who, if not powerful, seems modest, and if she deals in no fine phrenzies, at all events habits herself always in appropriate costume, and never shows dishevelled locks. According to English criticism, the standards of which, in poetry, differ very considerably from those of their neighbours on the other side of the channel,—the Abbé must write us other books, in more elaborate strain, in more ambitious vein, before we can determine what shall be his rank in letters. At present, we can say no more. We do not regard these slight efforts as properly the subject of criticism, and with the hope that our author will be hereafter encouraged to give us the necessary provocation, we leave him, now, in the best of tempers.

A Manual of Elementary Geology, or the Ancient Changes of the Earth and its Inhabitants, as illustrated by Geological Monuments. By Sir CHARLES LYELL, M.A., F.R.S., &c. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1853. The bare name of Sir Charles Lyell, is sufficient authority, with all readers, in behalf of any work on the subject of Geology: and, we have no doubt that this handsomely printed volume, which is illustrated with five hundred wood-cuts, will at once commend itself to all persons interested in the highly important study, (particularly at this moment,) which is the subject of this volume. The publishers, we may add, have given it to us in a style deserving equally of the author and his topic.

Don Quixote de la Mancha. By MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SUAVEDSA. A revised translation, based on those of Matteux, Jarvis and Smollet; with numerous characteristic illustrations. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1853. A new and beautiful edition, of an old and admirable satire and story. Don Quixote is one of those cavaliers who are never pushed from their stools. There are no rivals—and no successors. He is alone in his glory. It remains only that we give him welcome always, and when he comes in such new and becoming costume, as in the volume before us, he is doubly welcome.

Uncle Robin in his Cabin in Virginia, and Tom without one in Boston," (J. W. Randolph,) is designed as an offset to Uncle Tom's Cabin, and is to be received rather as an additional witness against Mrs. Stowe, than as a work of art. In this last respect, the volume is without pretension. Mr. J. W. Page, the writer, modestly disclaims all

ambition to shine in this field, and simply offers his testimony in behalf of the facts in regard to the slave institutions of the South. In this one respect the work will have its value. We are constrained to say that our author is as little of the logician as the novelist. But his picture of slavery is, undoubtedly, a faithful one.

Collier's Shakspeare. We welcome, with great satisfaction, the new edition of Shakspeare, after the text of Collier, revised according to the old folio edition, which this gentleman has been so fortunate as to recover, and which we have elsewhere noticed, filled with original notes and corrections, by one who proves to have been more familiar with the true text and meaning of Shakspeare than any of his commentators. This edition, which is from the press of Redfield, is equally neat in style and cheap in price, and will be comprised in sixteen parts, at only twenty-five cents each.

Summer's Address, before the Southern Agricultural Society of Georgia. Col. Summer has not forgotten his agricultural lessons in his pursuit of law and politics; and we commend him for it. He shows himself, in this oration, to incline still to green fields, and the quiet contemplative life of the good farmer, in spite of Coke upon Lyttleton, and in defiance of democratic temptations. His oration appears to have been highly successful with his Georgia audience. It deserved to be so. It will be found not less attractive, we fancy, and decidedly more useful, when they come to read it by the fireside, and take in its several details with becoming deliberation.

THE author of the "*Owl Creek Letters*," did not greatly win upon our fancy; and the fancy is the supreme Judge, before whose tribunal the cases of this class of writers are usually carried. He proves himself better deserving of a hearing in the "*Old House by the river*," which will be found sketchy and amusing, if slight—will not bear with hard strain upon the thought, but will agreeably diversify the tedium of road-side and river.

Letter of Dr. H. A. Ramsay, on the Southern Negro. We are glad to find our professional men looking to this subject, for though Dr. Ramsay gives us nothing in his pamphlet, that we had not already fully arrived at, yet his researches tend to confirm our conclusions, and to strengthen the convictions of our people. It would be, perhaps, better, however, to reserve our notes from publication, until we have possession

of a greater variety of facts, a larger number of cases, and until we can find time to put them on record in a less hurried and imperfect manner. In this latter respect, this letter is obnoxious to sharp censure. The typographical errors, by the way, are more outrageous than is commonly the case, even with our Southern publication offices, which are usually shocking enough, in all conscience.

THE popular Lectures of Mr. Thackeray, on the "*English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century*," which he delivered while in this country with so much success, come to us in a neat volume, from the press of Harper & Brothers. To readers familiar with the famous British writers of that period, these Lectures will pleasantly recall what has, no doubt, partially escaped them—they will hardly do more, since we do not see that the lecturer has made any discoveries. To those who are not read in that literature, they will prove as instructive as they are amusing.

The Life and Letters of Stephen Olin, D.D., L.L.D., late President of the Wesleyan University. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. The biographer, in this instance, has wisely concluded to let the subject speak for himself wherever it is possible. Accordingly, we have a large and interesting collection of correspondence, which reveal the character and intellect of the author much more fully than could be done by any narrative.

German Lyrics. By CHARLES T. BROOKS. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1853. This volume introduces us to a circle of contemporary German poets, of whom hitherto we knew little or nothing. The list is a numerous one, and as various as numerous. We are really grateful to Mr. Brooks for our new companions, and for the ease and grace with which he interprets for us. Our space will suffer us no more at this time than this acknowledgment, but this will suffice, if the lovers of poetry will take our word for it, and possess themselves of this little volume as they are posting to the sea-side or the mountains.

The Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, (Professor Bache,) does great credit to the good sense, good taste, nice literary propriety, and science of that excellent and gentlemanly officer, as the survey itself is in proof of the admirable abilities for the service of the officers of the profession chosen for its prosecution. Some of the departments of State are not quite so well officered, we think, as those of

the navy and army, and we rejoice at the high standards, which seem, apart from all governmental influences, to be growing up, and to be everywhere recognized, in both arms of the service. We doubt if there be in any corresponding professions, in any part of the civilized world, a more efficient corps of well bred, well educated, truly scientific, and properly ambitious gentlemen, than are now to be found representing the active departments of the United States Navy and Army. We can make no examination of the report (for 1851,) which is now before us. But the work done deserves analysis and commentary. May we not hope for something of the kind from some one of the members of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce? It lies especially within their province.

Edward Everett's Speeches. We regret that we can do no more at present than acknowledge the receipt of copies of the able speech of Mr. Everett, in the Senate of the United States, on "The Central American Treaty," and his Lecture delivered before the New-York Historical Society on "The Discovery and Colonization of America," a singularly graceful, ample and complete grouping, in one frame, of the successive progresses of discovery and settlement in the new world.

Ecclesiastical Opposition to the Bible. Such is the startling title of a sermon by the Rev. Thomas H. Stockton. The subject is one of vast importance, tending to show the universal conflict everywhere, in all sects and countries, between the Bible and the Ecclesiastic systems which prevail. Mr. Stockton contents himself chiefly with the evidence as to the fact. The topic is not within our province to discuss, but we are compelled to say that it is one highly needing to be examined and discussed by all professing Christianity, in any of its forms.

Cyrilla, (Appleton & Co.,) is by the author of *The Initials*, a story of very considerable and popular interest. *Cyrilla* is scarcely so good a book; it is interesting, but the interest is too somber, too intensely gloomy, and the author has shown herself strangely regardless of the awards of political justice. . . . *Simon Kenton*, (I pincott, Grambo & Co.,) by JAMES WEIR, claims to be an historical novel; but with small propriety. It is a border story, savage enough in character, but of little plot or characterization.

Louise Elton. Mrs. Mary E. Herndon, is persuaded by her cousin, John, to write a novel. Cousin John erred in his counsel, and cousin

Mary doubly erred in taking it. Louise Elton may have been a very clever governess, but she makes an unhappy heroine.

Webber's Tales and Legends. Mr. Webber has acquired considerable reputation as a writer in several departments. He is known as a good naturalist, and has contributed to our knowledge of the forest tribes, with a spirit and talent not unworthy of Audubon. He is, however, better known as a writer of tales, sketches and legends of the extreme South. The "*tales of the Southern Border*," (Lippencott, Grambo & Co.) one of the entertaining volumes before us, is made up of sketches, South and North, woven together with a careless thread of connection. They are full of life and spirit; with an action always exciting, and transitions perpetually going on, as striking and interesting as they are abrupt and unexpected. It is in the action of his stories, the invention, the animation, that Mr. Webber excels. As a writer, he is careless of his style, and shows himself in public too frequently in night gown and slippers. His "*Spiritual Vampirism, or History of Mrs. Etherial Softdown*," is a satirical story, the chief personages of which are the Mesmerites and Grahamites, Fourierites and Jebusites, of New York and the neighbouring country. We fancy we recognize sundry real persons in this narrative, and we have no doubt that it is full of living portraits. Mr. Webber's experiences have been considerable among these people, and his revelations are probably all founded upon the truth. The story is a curious one; developing many strange psychological and physiological phenomena, which merit examination, and will provoke thought and interest.

Anti-Fanaticism, by Miss MARTHA HAINES BUTT, is an effort to pay Mrs. Beecher Stowe off in her own currency. But Martha is not a good match for Beecher. She is too young, as she confesses. She means well; but the good intentions which are said to pave Hell—it must not be forgotten—make very bad pavements.

The Camel Hunt, is a narrative of personal adventure in California, the going to and fro, occupying a respectable portion of the volume, and the long talks the rest. The book is sketchy enough to be read by those who run, but by few others.

As a pleasant and instructive story for young people, "*Edgar Clifton*" may be commended. Its second title is "*Right and Wrong*," and the details illustrate happily the perpetual struggle in the mind of

these two hostile principles, and the necessity which exists for affording all possible help to the former, *while the mind is yet in the green, while it is tender, susceptible, impressible*. The book is illustrated with plates, and would prove an appropriate reward for good behaviour in the school-boy.

The Law of Commandatory and Limited Partnership in the United States. By FRANCIS J. TROUBAT, of the Bar of Philadelphia.—Phila.: Kay & Brother. 1853. An elaborate treatise on a subject of great and growing interest in this country. Mr. Troubat ranks highly as a Philadelphia Lawyer, and from the hasty glance which we have been able to take of the copious volume before us, seems to have fully mastered all its topics. His style of writing and manner of arrangement, are equally lucid and forcible. The subject of limited—or, as our author—borrowing from the continental schools—prefers to write it—Commandatory Partnership,—is one of such interest that it deserves elaborate consideration; and we hope, in future pages, to have it discussed in connection with this volume, by some one of our contributors, learned in the law. Meanwhile, we content ourselves with commending Mr. Troubat's treatise, not simply to the profession, but to the mercantile community, as probably the best that has yet been given to us in regard to this subject.

The Race for Riches, and some of the pits into which the Runners fall; six lectures applying the word of God to the traffic of men. By WILLIAM ARNOTT, Minister of Free St. Peters, Glasgow; with preface and notes, by STEPHEN CARROLL. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co. 1853. A series of lay-sermons—mixed sermon and essay—on a fruitful topic—lively, well written, acute and earnest.

Great Truths by Great Authors, (Lippincott, Grambo & Co.,) is a very good dictionary of quotations, in prose and verse. It might be made more valuable, but is quite as good as most of the compilations, of this sort, that we have seen.

"*Ruth*," a novel by the author of *Mary Barton*, will be found a sad and touching story, in which the interest is well maintained, while, in no case, conflicting with delicacy and good morals.

Ranke's Civil Wars and Monarchy in France. We shall hereafter return to this volume. Such attention is due equally to the subject and the author.

Echoes of a Belle; or a Voice from the Past. By BEN SHADOW. New York: Putnam & Co. 1853. The rumour goes that this sketchy little volume is from the pen of a fair lady, a native of Charleston, the daughter of a distinguished house. She has erred in the adoption of a masculine *nom de plume*, since the characteristics of the book are altogether feminine. Had our author really given us the true confessions of a belle, she had been much more successful. What a history might thus be given, if the writer were only frank, making a clean bosom of it, and showing all the hopes and fears, and fancies and caprices, which excite and distract, and elevate, and depress, that little, striving, sleepless, eager, confident, doubting, exulting, despairing, world, the heart of a pretty woman in the day of her youth and triumph. Our fair author does not attempt this. She deals rather in the outer than the inner world; and is content to sketch places and persons, only as they appear upon the surface. These sketches are pleasant enough for the passing reader. They lack saliency and force. They are imitative. The writer does not obey the maxim of Sir Philip Sidney—"Look into thy heart and write." She is content to see as the bird may be supposed to do, even as it flies; and when she sings, it is only in a light careless strain, such as mingle with the winds, and are borne away and lost within their superior burdens.

The Connection between Liberty and Eloquence, is the subject of an oration, delivered by the Hon. Wm. H. Stiles of Georgia, before the Phi Kappa and Demosthenian Societies of Franklin College, University of Georgia. The subject is a frequent one, and that there is a connection between Liberty and Eloquence, may be naturally inferred, from the fact, that, without the one, we cannot imply freedom of speech for the other. They hang together by this bond alone; that the one prompts the other, is also a natural consequence of its exercise. Mr. Stiles's oration shows reading and thought. His survey of the political eloquence of Greece, Rome, France, is interesting. What is said of America, being the world's last hope, may be a good national flourish. We do not believe a word of it. The world, be sure, will get on comfortably enough when we are extinct. We have had enough of this national self-complacency. It is time to leave it to the groundlings.—God help the world, if its hopes rest on any one nation, or any brood of nations—and this perpetually insisting upon our superiority, tends very much to our degradation. We are persuading ourselves daily that we are better than any body else, and thanking God that we are not like those poor publicans and sinners, the French and English, Dutch

and Germans, Russians and Poles, and other outside barbarians. We have no doubt a great deal for which to be grateful to the Deity, but we fancy that we entirely mistake his intentions, and his performances too, if we fancy that we are doing more wisely and virtuously than all the rest of mankind. Let us rather modestly encourage the notion that we are not yet quite perfect. We are not the world's last reserve, as Mr. Stiles so eloquently teaches; and the young men of our sister State will do well to swallow this pleasant viand of vanity, *cum grano salis*. If we go on prattling after this self-complaisant fashion, all the salt in the sea will never save us.

The Mississippi and Ohio Rivers; containing plans for the protection of the Delta from inundation; and an investigation of the practicability and cost of improving the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, by means of reservoirs; with an appendix on the Bars at the mouths of the Mississippi. By CHARLES ELLET, jr., Civil Engineer. Phila.: Lippencott, Grambo & Co. 1853. A curious, interesting and very important subject of inquiry, pursued in this volume by one who seems quite familiar with all its requisitions. This is not the case with us, and we must content ourselves with referring the volume to those who are. It is needless to say any thing to the scientific in respect to the necessity of this investigation. Scarcely any of our States upon the seaboard of the Gulph, or the Atlantic, but is deeply interested in the investigation. The volume before us is beautifully printed, and illustrated with numerous plates.

Notabilities in France and England, with an autobiography. By PHILARETE CHASLES. New York: Putnam & Co. 1853. A slight work by a Professor of the Paris Institute, whose more ambitious literary performance, on American Literature, has already been honored in our pages. This volume is eminently sketchy. It skims the surface gracefully enough, but will be found unsatisfactory. It pierces to no core, and solves no mystery of society or life. As a series of glimpses, caught in passing through England and France, it will amuse the careless reader; but it will scarcely provoke study, and will certainly satisfy no student. The essayical portions of the volume are singularly deficient in value. It is in the slight portraits given of notable persons, that the volume will be found most to interest.

Memorials of the English Martyrs. By the Rev. C. B. TAYLER, M. A., Rector of Olley, Suffolk. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853.

To the religious reader, this volume will prove a grateful companion. The subject is a copious one, and calculated to awaken memory and sympathy, in all classes of readers familiar with history, and accessible to tender moods and generous sentiments. Mr. Tayler is not an enthusiastic writer, but he is an agreeable one.

Schoolcraft's Scenes and Adventures in the Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas, (Lippincott & Co.) like all the writings of the author, will be found highly interesting and instructive; the result of his own personal observation, under the guidance of a mind, at once thoughtful, diligent, cautious and curious. In a copious appendix, the author includes a series of valuable observations on the Mineralogy, Geology and Geography of the western country; the lead mines of Missouri, constituting a very interesting history.

Ruffin on Calcareous Manures. (J. W. Randolph.) This is the fifth, and a highly improved edition, of a very valuable manual for Southern Planters. Mr. Ruffin, whom we all know, and esteem as one of the best authorities in Agriculture, has made himself renowned for his application of Calcareous Manures to lands in Virginia. He has given us most admirable lessons, which, unluckily for ourselves, we have been too slow to follow in Carolina. But we are growing wiser daily. We hope to get a good review of this book, and of its subjects, from a most able hand; and content ourselves here with commending it to the library of every Southern planter.

Lippincott's Cabinet Histories. The publishers of this very useful series, have added to the history of States already published, those of Massachusetts and N. York. For schools and as hand books there could be nothing better—supplying all necessary facts, and omitting all useless discussion and verbiage. Messrs. Carpenter & Arthur, the editors, are doing their duty carefully and conscientiously.

MRS. ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH, a lady somewhat distinguished by a very strenuous assertion of the rights (?) of her sex—better known, perhaps, as the author of a collection of graceful and tender poetry—has just laid before the public a Tragedy entitled “Old New York, or Democracy in 1689,” which is shortly to take its trial on the stage. We propose, as we have little space for present comment, to wait for the verdict of the people upon it as an acting play, before we decide upon its merits as a reading one. The story is founded upon the fate of Jacob

Leisler, who lent himself to a revolutionary party in 1689, which characteristically left him to his fate. We doubt if the materials are suited for dramatic purposes. But this doubt need not prejudice the reader against it as an agreeable production for the closet.

MARCO PAUL'S adventures in Boston, by JACOB ABBOTT, adds another to an already very considerable library of juvenile books. Some of these books are useful, and may be found agreeable, but we have no great notion of such narratives as the one before us. The formal teaching of common wayside lessons, by books or masters, is really to disarm the boy of his ordinary faculties. It is, in fact, to say to him, "shut eyes, close ears, open mouth, and hear while I explain, and show, that the boat goes by steam or sail, that a bridge is here, and here a wharf, and there a monument, and there a square." Better that a boy's own curiosity should be provoked, wherever he turns, and by whatever he sees, so that he may be stimulated to ask, inquire, seek and find out, and so learn; than that you should poke along with him wherever he goes, and by your incessant cackle of senility anticipate all that he may want to learn. We anticipate too much. A boy should not be too quickly answered even when he asks.

The British Cabinet for 1853. (Lippincott, Grambo & Co.) This is a collection of biographies, including Lord Aberdeen, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Sir James Grahame, Mr. Gladstone, Duke of Newcastle, Lord Cranworth, Sir Wm. Molesworth, Hon. Sidney Herbert, Earl of Clarendon, Earl of Granville, Duke of Argyle, and Sir Charles Wood. The volume is one of considerable interest, and may hereafter afford a theme for an article. At the present moment, the Cabinet of the British Monarchy is of considerable attraction. Great international and Continental interests hang upon its decision, and the fear is that it will not be found equal to the emergency, in consequence of a want of coherence among its members. We shall see. Before this paragraph will reach the eyes of readers, it is thought that this Cabinet will be dissolved; but the fact, should it occur, will by no means lessen the value of this little book, as a collection of instructive biography.

From Lippincott, Grambo and Company, we have received "*The Pro-Slavery Argument*," a volume containing the writings of Harper, Hammond and Simms of South Carolina, and Dew of Virginia, in defence of the institution of Slavery in the Southern States. The South

ron will find in this volume a perfect armory of argument, exhausting all the facts and philosophies in behalf of the morals of Slavery, and placing the institution, as it exists among us, on an unassailable foundation. From the same publishers, we are in receipt of copies of new editions of "*The Sword and Distaff*," a Tale of the South, and "*Norman Maurice*," a Tragedy; of which, as they are from our own manufactory, we are permitted to say nothing.

Poems. By MEDITATUS. (Lippincott, Grambo & Co.) Are to be commended rather for their moral than their melody. The author's ear is quite too untaught to justify his attempt at blank verse, which requires a more exquisite ear, than any other species.

THE ADDRESS OF EDMUND RUFFIN, Esq., to the Virginia State Agricultural Society, at its first annual meeting, is full of matter at once instructive and interesting, and merits a degree of consideration which we hope to give it in future pages, when we shall consider all the writings of the author, in connection with his public service in the South, as a teacher of agriculture, and the general improvement of soils. It must suffice, for the present, if we barely mention the names of various writings of Mr. Ruffin, in connection with agricultural subjects, which our planters will do well to procure and read. See then, in the Southern Planter, for September, October and November, his successive papers, on the results from the use of Calcareous Manures, his new views on the theory and laws of rotation in crops, and the profitable improvement of poor land, from its own resources. See, also, in the American Farmer, his paper on the farming profits in eastern Virginia.

Macaulay's Speeches, a very neat American edition, from the press of Redfield, will readily command consideration. At present, we can only name the publication. . . . We are constrained, in the same way, to limit our notice of the three handsome octavos, devoted to the *Writings of Wm. H. Seward*, to a simple acknowledgment of publication. We shall hope to see and speak more fully of these volumes, so provocative on many accounts, hereafter. . . . The *Notes of Trench*, on the *Miracles and Parables*, constitute two fine octavos, from the press of the Messrs. Appleton. The readers of this periodical do not need now to be told what are the opinions which we entertain of Mr. Trench as a writer, a thinker and a moralist. Our papers, on his lectures on Words, Proverbs, &c., are sufficient for this purpose. We beg leave to counsel our present readers by all means to add these to the other volumes of

the same author in their collection. They will edify and instruct equally the thinker and the Christian. . . . *Sir William Hamilton's Philosophical Writings* are the subject of elaborate notice in previous pages of our present issue. This enables us to dispense with any comments on the very handsome American edition before us, from the press of *Appleton & Co.*, edited by *Wight*. . . . *Electro-Physiology*: "a scientific, popular and practical treatise, on the prevention, causes and cure of disease ; or *electricity as a curative agent*," from the pen of Dr. Gershon Huff,—seems to us a volume which will equally interest the unprofessional as the scientific reader, and which the latter will need to examine with care. The *second* edition, from the press of Appletons, now before us, shows that the work already provokes curiosity.

Barrington's Sketches. (Redfield.) Sir Jonah, whatever his other virtues—about some of which our brother Reviewers of Great Britain have some questionings—cannot be denied to be a very pleasant companion. His book, full of Irish anecdote, personal commonly, always piquant, and filled with the most glorious subjects, is one which never lacks in life and interest. Irish society is his field ; Irish genius, spirit, wit, valour,—these are his *dramatis personæ*. What more need we say to commend the volume to that class of readers who would realize all the sources of this world of rollicking humour, and dashing chivalry, which have made the capital stock, always, of such writers as Lever, Lover, and a host of the same calibre ?

Salad for the Solitary. (Lampart, Blakeman & Law.) Our author is known to be Mr. Frederick Saunders, who sets himself down as an epicure. But he may also claim to be a gormand—so far as books are concerned. He is a genuine specimen of the bookworm. He breakfasts on quartos, dines on folios, sups on duodecimos, and on Sunday makes up his repast with a dessert of nonpareil and bijou editions, such as fitly grace the boudoir of taste and beauty. He is of the D'Israeli school, and it is astonishing how he works his way through a folio. Mountains of black letter offer no obstacle. He guts them of all that is precious in their bowels, and lines his own paunch with their most luscious possessions. The practice would be criminal and monstrous, but that he gives out as he takes in, while the good public has the benefit of his good digestion. His salad is thus partly a compound of other men's good things, with a fine and delicate dressing of his own. The solitary feeder will here find, ready done to his hand, a most admirable variety of foreign and domestic dishes—beautifully served up.

Memorial of Greenough. (Putnam & Co.) This volume consists of a memoir, from the pen of Mr. Tuckerman, written in the good style and proper taste which distinguish the writings of that gentleman—and of selections from the occasional essays of the artist himself. Of these writings, to speak advisedly, we should require more time than performances so slight would seem to require; but as they are mostly æsthetical, they demand study, and offer no little provocation to it. We leave them for such prospects of a future consideration as a greatly worked critic may promise himself and his readers. We must not omit to mention that the volume is closed by a collection of tributes to Greenough, from the pens of Alex. Everett, Allston, Dana, Calvert, and others.

Barrell's Pedestrian in France, &c. (Putnam & Co.) A new ramble over old regions. Mr. Barrell's claims are based upon the fact of his travel on foot, and his consequent contact, everywhere, with the people of the country, and his better knowledge of common life, the habits, manners and amusements of the peasantry. We have read nothing but his preface.

Under the title of "*The Industry of all Nations*," Putnam & Co. are giving us a series of periodical reports of the most striking exhibitions at the New-York Crystal Palace. The work is beautifully designed and printed, with engravings illustrative of the most distinguished objects of art under exhibition. We have before us, the four first numbers, in two parts, the price of each of which is but twenty-five cents, a price so exceedingly small as to make it very doubtful whether any amount of sale can compensate the publisher.

Seventh Census. The Reports of the Superintendent of the Census, for 1851 and 1852, constitute a thin volume, badly printed, on wretched paper, from the press of Washington. It is greatly to be regretted that Government should treat with so little heed to permanence of form and neatness of costume, documents of such real value and importance. So much money expended on public printing, and expended in such bad taste, is a reproach to Congress. Its publications should be such always as to merit a place in every citizen's library.

Littell's Living Age, commenced a new volume with July—a neat, cheap and well designed selection.

THE Charge of the Hon. John Perkins, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Louisiana, to the Grand Jury, at Providence, in that State, last May, is one of much ability, and contains passages of interest and value touching our Slave laws and the relations which exist between master and slave. Our limits alone deny that we should quote these passages.

Dennison's Home Pictures. (Harper & Brothers.) A collection of slight sketches, which may beguile a careless hour and a listless mind; but we see little in them that is compensative or valuable to either.

Hand Book for Travellers in Europe. (Putnam & Co.) A very good manual, very compact and satisfactory, compiled from the best European authorities, and designed especially for Americans, by the Rev. ROSWELL PARK, D. D.

The Boyhood of Great Men. (Harper & Brothers.) A volume meant to afford examples for study to the young, consisting of a considerable body of biographical sketches of men distinguished in various ways in modern times. To the uninitiated, the collection may prove instructive, and will be agreeable reading.

McClintock's Second Book in Latin. (Harper & Brothers.) Containing Syntax and Reading Lessons in Prose, forming a sufficient Latin reader. Dr. McClintock's class books are decidedly among the most valuable of their kind. The present volume is a complement to his *first* book in Latin.

South-Carolina in the Revolutionary War, being a reply to certain misrepresentations and mistakes of recent writers in relation to the course and conduct of this State, by a Southron. Charleston: *S. G. Courtenay*, No. 3, Broad-street. The publisher has kindly sent us a copy of this work, which originally appeared in the Review. It is handsomely gotten up, and is afforded at a low price.

We have received several numbers of *Arthur's Home Magazine*, published in Philadelphia, at \$2 per annum. Mr. Arthur is possessed of good taste, and we can safely recommend his magazine as one likely to instruct as well as amuse.

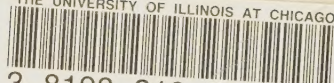
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